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## CONTEMPORARY COMMENTARY

*A series of monthly contributions sponsored by the Unservile State Group*

In this issue the Group presents an article on the prospects for Labliberalism in Britain by Philip Skelsey, Liberal Candidate at the 1958 by-election in Ealing South, followed by an analysis by R. B. McCallum, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, of the result of the General Election.

In the January issue we hope to publish proposals for liberalizing the nationalized industries by Jack Wiseman, Lecturer in Economics at the London School of Economics.

### A NEW POPULAR FRONT ?

BY PHILIP SKELSEY

**D**URING the last General Election campaign it seemed at times that politics was becoming a branch of Show Business. The first Tory T.V. Broadcast was pure drawing-room farce. Ministers sat around on sofas and easy chairs exchanging congenial clichés with one another while the Prime Minister presided like a Terence Rattigan matriarch. It was all rather dull, but possibly the programme was designed by the party for its own supporters—the people who are said to join because they are social climbers. For a few precious minutes they were able to escape into a dream world where they sat at the feet of Ian and Rab and Derry as they discussed how they would like to spend our money in the next few years. Quintin sat on one side rather self-consciously, like a little boy allowed specially to stay up with the grown-ups. By comparison, the first Labour T.V. Broadcast was bright and had real pace. It had funny jokes and cartoons and interviews with famous people who explained why they were voting Labour although they disagreed with the Labour Party. The camera moved briskly among the clever public-school men with good accents and safe seats as they explained the “built-in elevator” in the Crossman Pension Scheme and posed awkward questions for the Tories, and we were almost deluded into thinking that after all the Labour Party was a vital, vigorous and liberal organization determined to tackle problems in a progressive but realistic fashion. There were further broadcasts on similar lines, the campaign got under way and the whole show went on

the road round the marginal constituencies with special prizes offered to old-age pensioners. At the end of it all Mr. Macmillan remembered Charlie Chaplin and wound up with a solo performance while he twiddled a globe of the world like the Great Dictator.

The Liberal Party might well have been submerged by all this, but Tory smugness and Socialistic gimmicks provided just the right background for a simple direct approach, which in any event we had to adopt, because of limited financial resources. But we managed a helicopter tour for Jo Grimond, and this gave a nice professional touch to the end of the Liberal campaign. We have done well in by-elections in the last two years but we are usually at a disadvantage in a General Election, particularly where the other two parties appear to be running neck and neck. In the past many of our potential voters have succumbed to the temptation of voting Tory in order to keep Labour out or *vice versa*. But this time the Liberal vote not only held firm but increased by 918,361. The average Liberal poll was 7,595 compared with 6,567 in 1955, and there was a 14 per cent increase in our popular vote, allowing for the difference in the number of candidates in the field. Unfortunately the increase in votes was not matched by an increase in seats and this inevitably spoiled the taste of success. Jo Grimond will have increased authority in the House of Commons but still no more than five other members with whom to share the burden of presenting the Liberal case, and it is doubtful whether they have any better chance of being called on to speak in vital debates. Some of the initial forecasts were obviously too optimistic, but when we heard that Mr. Thorpe had won North Devon we had good reason to hope that Torrington would be retained and that North Cornwall and possibly Hereford would also be won. The result of the General Election in 1958 showed a definite swing to the Liberal Party in the west country. By-election results subsequently improved our position and in March, 1958, Mr. Bonham Carter won Torrington. In spite of this thousands of obstinate people in several constituencies wasted their votes by voting Labour when they could have voted Liberal in order to keep the Tory out! Several Tories were elected on a minority vote in this way. The case of North Cornwall is particularly striking. In 1955, the figures were: Conservative: 16,824, Liberal: 15,220, Labour: 3,465. Subsequently Mr. Malindine, the Liberal candidate, worked very hard in the constituency and was reported to have visited each home at least three times before the recent General Election. But in the final result there was only a slight change in the figures: Conservative: 16,701, Liberal: 15,712, Labour: 3,389.

Many Liberals will argue that these figures gave further proof of the need for electoral reform; for one seat the Tories had to poll 37,693 votes, Labour 47,349 and the Liberals 273,460. This is a worthy attitude, but not a practical one. Electoral reform requires legislation which has to be passed by the House of Commons, but the House is dominated by the other two parties and neither of them has any interest in it. Therefore, if Liberals proceed on the assumption that our representation in the House will never be substantially increased in the near future, if at all, without



electoral reform, we shall remain indefinitely in the political wilderness. We may continue to advocate electoral reform, but something else is required if more Liberal votes are to bring more Liberal seats in the House of Commons. The present electoral system is with us for some time yet, and it is clear from the results that the Tories will always have a decisive advantage if there is more than one other party in the country seriously contending for the honour of being its principal opponent. It also seems clear that there has been a steady decline in enthusiasm for Socialism since 1945, and that unless there is a grave crisis of some kind, a left-wing party will not win a General Election again in this country unless it has jettisoned Socialism completely and adopted policies which are related in a practical and constructive fashion to the real desires of the British people for social reform without Socialism. Only this kind of left-wing party can jerk the people out of their insular contentment with, or indifference to, Tory foreign policy, and while a Socialist Party continues to be the main opponent of the Tories, liberally minded members of the Tory Party in the House of Commons will never carry a revolt against a right-wing nationalist foreign policy to the point of voting with the Opposition.

Since Jo Grimond became the leader of the Liberal Party our aim has been to create a left-wing party on these lines and to replace the Labour Party as the main Opposition to the Tories. Many active Liberals will take the view that we should continue on this road, building on the results of the General Election, chipping away at the Labour strength in the constituencies and demonstrating in by-elections that, while the Tories may win, Liberals can at least oust Labour from second place. In the short run we must do this in any event, but a long time must elapse and many things must happen before the position of the Labour and Liberal Parties is reversed, and even then the continued existence of two parties on the Left may still split the vote and keep the Tories in power. We must remember that the Labour Party is still very powerful. It is now in a healthier condition in many ways than at any time since 1955. The leadership is united and many active Labour Party supporters believe that it can maintain the drive which it developed in the campaign and become a more effective opposition in Parliament. Drop nationalization, adjust relations with the Trade Union Congress in some way, knock the Left out again at the next party Conference, and all the disgruntled Labour supporters who voted Liberal will rally round again. That is the formula—and it is just possible that it will work.

If these views win the day in each party, many present members of the Labour and Liberal Parties will get out of party politics altogether rather than be involved in years of Labour-Liberal bickering, while the Tories sit securely in power laughing their heads off. It is certainly not a prospect which is likely to bring new people into politics on the Left. Fortunately, there are a number of compelling reasons why such narrow views may be rejected. The prospect for Liberal candidates is not after all very exciting. If, after nearly five years really hard work, Mr. Malindine can only reduce the Tory majority in North Cornwall by 615 votes, what

chances have other candidates? In the long run they may succeed, but the Tories will be with us all the time and in the long run, as Keynes said: "We are all dead." Most Labour politicians have come up smiling after taking a hard knock, but their prospects are not really very bright. They are talking about changing the name of the party, but this is just silly. There has also been talk about re-thinking, but many Labour politicians have been doing nothing else for years—we remember with a shudder all those Fabian weekend schools and all those dreary pamphlets on controlling this and that, written by nice young chaps with good honours degrees in planning, but without any real experience at all in running a business. For many years there has been a struggle in the Labour Party between those who want more public ownership and those who do not. The former group includes the left-wing of the party and other elements such as Messrs. Morrison and Shinwell, who on most aspects of policy are well to the right of the party. The latter group includes most Liberals, ex-Liberals and others who have joined the Labour Party because they have progressive views and because no other party appeared to offer them any chance of real political power. The policies produced have represented an unsatisfactory compromise between these two groups. The party correctly makes a virtue of industrial expansion, and it would at least be logical for it to propose immediate drastic Socialist policies as desired by the "Victory for Socialism" group. But the policy adopted has always been one of moderate Socialism and therefore the party must depend on the co-operation, both of workers and of their employers, if the policy is to work in practice. How can the Labour Party expect to receive the full co-operation of employers if shares in their companies are to be taken over by the State, their capital gains taxed, and the threat of nationalization is always hanging over their heads? Or are these threats not meant to be taken seriously? Labour leaders give different answers to different audiences and voters have not been impressed.

There are people in both the Labour and Liberal parties who adhere firmly to a Utopian view of politics. They believe that Free Trade or Socialism is the only answer to our problems. But there are far more people in both parties who are really agreed on fundamentals and they must now begin to realize that their only hope of ultimate success lies, not in asserting the superiority of the particular party to which they happen to belong, but in developing interests and ideas which they have in common and finding ways of promoting these by united action. The Labour Party is not as internationally minded as the Liberal Party, but there is a good deal of agreement between them on foreign and colonial policy. In its defence policy the Labour Party has recently moved near to the Liberals. The idea of a Non-Nuclear Club had a bad press when it was adopted by the Labour Party and was criticized as a non-starter. The trouble was that it started too late. Like so many good ideas in politics it was taken up first by the Liberals. Some of our by-election candidates put forward the idea during 1958, but unfortunately it never had a real chance of taking root in people's minds while there was still an opportunity of putting it

into practice. When Lord Russell and Lord Simon proposed it, the idea was inevitably confused with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament with which they are both associated. When the Liberal Party adopted the idea it took second place in their propaganda to the argument that duplication of the United States deterrent was economically wasteful. The Non-Nuclear Club is probably impractical now, but it should not be difficult for members of the Labour and Liberal parties to work out a new positive policy in regard to nuclear weapons, based on calling a halt in some way to their manufacture and supply.

On questions of domestic policy our differences are of course greater. Liberals cannot possibly work with those of the Right or the Left in the Labour Party who want to extend public ownership immediately by nationalization or municipalization, and who accept capitalism as second best pending the introduction of Socialism into this country. But we can provide an alternative policy for those whose main concern is to spread wealth but who have hitherto regarded direct State control as the means of doing it. The latest Liberal proposals are contained in the Report of the "Ownership for All" Committee which would have been presented to the Liberal Assembly in September of this year. This contains plans for expanding home ownership, attacking monopolies, encouraging pension schemes instead of imposing them, and for adjusting death-duties in order to encourage the division of larger estates. The plans for co-ownership should be of particular interest to Labour Party supporters but they will probably have to be strengthened. To encourage co-ownership by tax incentives is a good policy but it does not go far enough. We should introduce it in industry at every possible opportunity, for example, as a means of settling wage disputes and by amending the Companies Act so that some form of co-ownership is required before certain companies can become public companies or obtain a quotation on the Stock Exchange.

The trade unions present a big problem. They supply cash and the Labour Party cannot do without it, but they also supply mediocre candidates and behind the bright, fresh image presented by the T.V. broadcasts, too many people saw the trade union cart-horse—morose, short-sighted, concerned only that it should have enough hay to munch. After the General Election there is a feeling, both inside and outside the Labour movement, that "something must be done about the unions". There are several matters which require attention. One which Liberals have stressed particularly is the unjust and undemocratic character of many union rules and procedures. Some Labour supporters are now at last voicing similar feelings. Legislation can deal with this aspect of the problem, but it is not the way to modernize the antiquated and unwieldy structure of many unions, which is completely unsuited to the conditions of modern industry. Some union leaders are beginning to realize at last that changes in policy and organization are required if unions are to play an important and popular role in society and to regain the confidence of their members. In the past their approach to wage negotiations has been limited and narrow, but they have recently showed signs of more realistic tactics. In the last

railway strike, for example, several union leaders not only put forward a wage claim, but also examined seriously the chances of improving efficiency on the railways and securing economies, so that a rise in wages could be justified. In the United States this attitude is much more common and union leaders go into wage negotiations with very clear and detailed plans for improving efficiency and for linking wage increases with greater productivity. Union leaders here might also learn from their comrades in the United States that unions are in a stronger position if they are not involved in Socialist politics.

There are powerful financial and traditional links at the top between the Labour Party and the T.U.C. and Transport House will be very anxious to preserve these, if only to get the cash to pay for even better and brighter T.V. shows and other gimmicks to refashion and project an attractive image of the Labour Party to the public. But Liberals who have spoken to industrial audiences can testify that the rank-and-file of the trade union movement are not so enthusiastic about continuing the alliance, and more trade union members voted Tory in this election than ever before. Their feelings are negative, inchoate and without direction. But junior members of the trade union hierarchy might attract unexpectedly large support if they began a movement to take trade unions out of party politics into an independent position. Such a movement might well develop in parallel with a re-alignment of the political Left.

How is this to be achieved? It is impossible to lay down a precise formula, but to begin with the Liberals can make contact with members of the Labour Party by playing a larger part in movements outside party politics which unite all shades of left-wing opinion to deal with specific issues—organizations connected with colonial policy, for example, and possibly the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. We must not let these movements be dominated by clergymen and Socialists. We must also work in the various organizations which exist and promote new ones to defend and extend civil liberties and to rid this country of all the stupid petty restrictions which prevent us from enjoying ourselves. In these matters incidentally we shall find that the terms Right and Left have little meaning. Many members of the right wing of the Labour Party are extremely conservative when it comes to questions of civil liberty. Ultimately a new movement in politics must find expression in party politics if it is to be effective. An immediate alliance between the Liberal and Labour parties is out of the question. It would indeed be what the *Guardian* called "A shot-gun wedding". There must be a reasonable period of courtship while the couple get to know one another and, incidentally, while they discuss ways and means of finding a dowry to replace the allowance from the trade unions. It is better to start at constituency level where many active Labour supporters must be attracted to the Liberal Party, particularly in areas where the local Labour Party has been dominated by infantile leftists who have driven them out of active work by resolutions for nationalizing the Stock Exchange or adopting a "Socialist foreign policy", that is, newer and better ways of appeasing Soviet Russia.

Discussions can also be opened with a view to adopting joint candidates in Council and Parliamentary elections. If overtures are rejected, then Liberals must fight and fight hard in order to demonstrate the realities of the present situation to the Labour Party.

It is impossible to foresee the form which any re-alignment of the Left might ultimately take. We might get a new version of the Popular Front, particularly if a crisis arises in foreign or colonial policy which demands immediate unity on the Left. But ideally we would like to see in Britain a new radical party uniting the enthusiasm and idealism of the Liberals with the political knowledge and experience of the Socialists, relying in political philosophy more on Acton and Orwell than on Marx and Laski, allowing free expression to different shades of opinion within its ranks and generally conducting its politics in open debate with all the noise and bustle of a party convention in the United States, instead of privately and discreetly over glasses of sherry in the House of Commons; and having, ideally, Jo Grimond as its leader.

Is this a completely intellectual and impossibly Utopian ideal? Certainly there are obvious and formidable obstacles to be overcome. In both parties there are powerful vested interests in maintaining the *status quo*, but they will not be able to prevent the rise of a new movement if enough members of the Labour and Liberal parties really want it.

## THOUGHTS ON THE GENERAL ELECTION

BY R. B. MCCALLUM

**A**LTHOUGH the change-over in votes and the gains and losses in seats in this election were moderate and undramatic, the first impression that the election was something of a portent appears still to be just.

Several broad facts stand out: (1) There is the slight rise in the total Conservative vote and the slight fall in the Labour vote; in terms of the percentage, a fall of 2.6 per cent. (2) There is the increase in the Liberal vote, with a larger number of candidates in the second place and a much smaller proportion of lost deposits. This notable success, however, is modified by the disappointment of having no increase in the number of seats won. (3) There is a variation between the Midlands and the South of England on the one hand and the North on the other. This is an old pattern common in our politics. It was most marked in the General Election of 1910, when the South returned to Toryism while the North voted for the ending of the veto of the House of Lords and for Lloyd George's radical budget of 1909.

For many years southern England has been growing industrialized. It looked like a fair field for the extension of the influence of Labour, and the Labour failure to make more of this social and economic movement is a fact of great significance. It looks as though the genius of the Home

Counties, the drag of southern suburbia, is the stronger factor. But it does not appear that Conservatism is the only force which is gaining in the South. While the arguments from polling figures as to the extent to which either party loses votes when there is Liberal intervention, are obscure, it does seem probable that a Liberal candidate is no longer a menace to a Tory seat to the extent that was formerly supposed. From many quarters comes testimony that many younger people, denizens of the new, more socially mobile society, feel no longer that to be progressive, forward-looking and radical, means that they must be Labour. Mr. Grimond has shown them another way, and many seem to have favoured it. The results of October 8, 1959, will do little to discourage this slow drift from Socialism. In one respect the Liberal candidates were unfortunate. The impression was given, not only by the polls of various public opinion experts, but the evidence that came in from the journalists observing in the field, that the election was by no means the foregone conclusion it had at first seemed. The tide of the public opinion polls turned a few days before the election in favour of the Conservatives, but not in time to reassure the doubters, not in time to dissipate the "wasted vote" argument.

Another aspect of the election is the variation between Scotland and England. This is not entirely a matter of the Border. There was a relative Conservative weakness in Lancashire, minus Merseyside, and in the border counties of England. But the movement in Scotland, most marked in Clydeside, in spite of the Conservative's bold essay in pork-barrel politics in offering two new Cunarders, and still clear in southern Scotland, shading off in the northern parts, does present a problem in political motives.

What of the general state of the parties in the United Kingdom? The first question is the condition and the fate of the Labour Party. After their one great victory, in 1945, they have drawn in one election and lost in three successive contests. For this there is no precedent, unless we go back to the period before 1867. Not since that time has a party failed so continuously at the polls. The Conservatives, it is true, lost in 1906 and in the two elections of 1910, but 1910 showed a very considerable recovery, and the omens for the election that was due in 1915, if peace had held, were very propitious for the Unionists. It is not too much to say that the defeat is unexampled, that it begins to make nonsense of the concept of the swing of the pendulum. It cannot be merely misfortune and accident. The Labour Party did indeed have some accidental misfortunes, notably the terrible frost of 1947 which did so much to take the gloss off nationalization. The Conservative Party has had some good fortune in the terms of trade, which has meant for a period cheaper imports. But the Labour Party has also had some splendid opportunities, above all the Suez episode. A party that could muff such a chance must have some grave defects in its political sense and in its constitutional thinking. Too many people, disgusted though they were with the Eden Government, felt that Labour was not a bearable alternative, and so effectively have Labour taught people to believe that there can be only two kinds of Government, themselves or the Tories, that they were helpless in a net of their own



devising.

Is the Labour Party done for? Will it wither away? It would be rash to suppose that this will happen. It is a large and powerful organism: the bigger reptiles are hard to kill. If the Labour Party as a political force is inferior to the Conservatives, it has the immense power of the trade unions behind it and it would require almost a generation for active trade unionists to know what to do other than to be Labour. From this source the party may hope to go on receiving a slow, sluggish, but solid nourishment. It would require a revolution in trade union habits to put an end to this source of power, although it may well be that the numbers of unionists who dissent and who vote for other parties will increase. While we may expect the unions to become less arrogant, it does not seem reasonable to expect so complete a change as would take them out of politics in the American manner. The Labour Party will go into solemn retreat to meditate on its disaster. One obvious course is to return to the older, radical spirit, to raise the banner of pure Socialism, of ever extending public ownership, to cry *Excelsior*, onwards and upwards. This would have some merit; those who fought would fight harder in closer if thinner ranks. But the cry of *Excelsior* comes best to an advancing army. The youth who "through an Alpine Valley passed" was presumably moving onwards, not sliding backwards on treacherous scree and ice-slopes. The people of England may have some economic shocks in store for them. But it is unlikely that, whatever troubles may come if employment falters, they will seek relief in more Socialism when times are hard and the vendors of hire-purchase goods press for payment or return. Will the cry be raised: "Give us another Coal Board, give us one more organization like the Transport Commission," or: "Let us have Government direction and public ownership of chemicals, steel, fats and insurance?" An economic crisis will require sharp, swift measures. The way of Socialism is slow and lengthy. A nation living precariously by exports cannot afford to shut up for some years for a complete overhaul. The Russia of 1917 might do this; they had no real standards of comparison to worry about and they had an iron Government to enforce its will. If Britain were to retire to jump further, it would be found that France, Germany and other nations had outdistanced us to an extent that could not be regained. The people of the country are too intelligent not to know this. The long stretch of education in simple economics, mainly by Socialist economists, has taught them this hard fact. And for what other reason should the British people vote for Socialism? There is one and it is a good one. They could secure more equality. Beyond all doubt the rich can be made poorer, the poor can at least be made richer in comparison, if not absolutely. But three times in nine years the British electorate has refused by a small but decisive and growing margin to prefer equality to present prosperity and relative freedom. Given the firm foundation of the Welfare State, which no party challenges, people seem to be content to rest on that platform, and the advancement of the more enterprising and the more fortunate seems to be less resented than one might have expected 15 years ago. That



an Englishman should have similar opportunities of self-improvement as a Canadian or an American does not seem to be so great an evil. The only effective alternative is a People's Republic, governed by a party dictatorship in which political power and influence replaces personal wealth. There is no sign that this idea attracts more than a slender minority.

Recent developments in Labour policy give little comfort to those who hunger after equality. In education they have conceded the right of individuals to buy a private education for their children if they so desire. In conceding this they have conceded all: a back-handed swipe at the grammar schools and the eleven-plus examination does not restore the balance. Eton retains its sting, Winchester its ineffable superiority. But there is more than education to depress the old-time Socialist who really believed that the coming of the Labour Party to power would make all men equal. The leader of the party, during the campaign, gave some form of undertaking that he would not increase income-tax. This may have been misunderstood, and may have meant no more than that he hoped to keep the tax stable in a period of rising revenue. But income-tax is so much the simplest, the most easily comprehensible method of narrowing the gap between richer and poorer, that it must have cast a chill over the full-blooded Socialists. It was a notable blunder and will hang round the necks of the Opposition like a mill stone.

The long-term prospects of recruitment of young talent to the Labour Party have declined. The trades unions will still find able men, but their prestige is lower than it was in Ernest Bevin's day, and the new educational ladder is creaming off much talent to the universities that in the past found an outlet in the unions. Nor is politics so attractive to them. Fifteen years ago promotion to Parliament might mean the Cabinet, now only the Opposition. And the appeal of the party to the young professional or university men, who have come to such deserved eminence, is much weakened. No doubt the present intellectual leaders of the party in their youth were animated by much idealism. But as they were also highly intelligent it may be supposed that they saw Labour also as a road to promotion. Young people, when they turn to politics, hope for two things, to do good and to become great. Will their equivalents, the radical students of today, be equally inspired as they see the Labour intellectuals, their hair silvering in Opposition as they write their articles for leftist journals and tread the Opposition lobbies? They may feel, as Liberals of the past generation have been compelled to feel, that public life was not for them and the best course in life was to succeed quietly in a profession. The Labour movement, desiccated (the word is still available for general use) by the calculated materialism of their own propaganda, has lost the passion, the heat and urgency of its great days. Only from Mr. Bevan, occasionally and faintly, does there come anything like the power of the voice that shook the Welsh valleys 50 years ago or the noble organ-notes that earlier thrilled and awed the miners of Midlothian.

The Conservatives, on the other hand, seem secure. Like Peel in 1841 and Disraeli in 1874, they benefit from the fact that their opponents have

satisfied the demand for "reforms" and now welcome a rest from what Sydney Smith in 1841 called "the botheration" of Whig government. Except for the nationalization of the coal mines, which was probably necessary to prevent revolution, the main steps in social progress, such as the Education Act of 1944 and the Beveridge social security schemes, were accepted by all parties. The Conservatives, who initiated none of these reforms and in earlier days opposed many of them, have only to hold to them firmly. The myth of 1945 that a Socialist Government alone could talk with Russia perished within a week. There was another idea that seemed to have more force. We did feel about the end of the war that the countries of Western Europe, if they did not go Communist, would at least produce a vigorous form of Socialism and our Socialists would be the best leaders to deal with these Governments. But France, Germany and Italy have turned to a form of democratic conservatism strongly tinged with catholicism. Our Conservatives are far from ideal for dealing with Western Europe. They are too stiff, too complacent, too protectionist, and with too much of the drying salt of old British imperialism on their cheeks, to be good at it. But they are closer to the mark than the Labour Party. Yoked with the vigorous and effective Governments of Dr. Adenauer and General de Gaulle, a ministry of Socialist intellectuals and trade unionists would have a curiously ill-matched look, outmoded, irrelevant, even dowdy. Yet the Conservatives hold power by a small margin. Since 1900 they have never been able to poll a majority of the voting electors except when in coalition with others. There is little evidence that the people love the Tories; there is abundant evidence that faced with the choice of them or Socialism they will reluctantly choose Conservatism.

Conservatism has been powerful in this century because the radical movement in Great Britain has been in schism since 1906. The Labour Party, by the law of their being, had to reject all alliances; they still seem to be resolved to do so. To Liberals they gave only one choice, submit or die. Like Roosevelt in the late war, their terms were "*unbedingungslos Kapitulation*". This was impressive when Labour appeared as a giant striding to inevitable victory; it is less impressive now. But if, as is probable, there will be a more even distribution of votes between Liberal and Labour, the Conservatives may hope to reign with greater serenity.

What dangers lie ahead for Conservatism? There are the endless accidents and vicissitudes of politics, which, as Gladstone sagely observed "are too much immersed in matter." Another Suez seems improbable; indeed, until it actually happened it had seemed impossible. But Mr. Macmillan may be presumed to have learned that lesson. Indeed, in the shrinking geography of Empire, it seems difficult to find a possible location for so majestic a blunder. The danger to the Conservatives will come from complacency and addiction to their social and political habits, unrestrained by the threat of a really dangerous foe. For all their valiant efforts to recruit from lower social levels, they remain a remarkably aristocratic body. The public may become tired of the rule of these glossy patricians. They may make enemies and lose public respect by their habits of patronage:

one day they may appoint one Etonian too many. Had they been out of office for longer, they might have achieved what Canadians would have called a Diefenbaker Revolution. It is hardly to be supposed that, sated and secure, they will revolutionize themselves.

When one looks at our political parties today the first reflection is how narrow, comparatively, are the differences between them. But the dispute between the parties is not about nothing. Liberals believe in Britain's taking its part in the development of Western Europe and the Commonwealth and in accepting our military obligations with our allies. But we are firmly set against delusions of grandeur about Britain's position in terms of power in the world. In our growing association with Western Europe we must not be slow, hesitant, proud and stiff. This movement is one of the greatest events of modern history. We must take our part in the new Carolingian age. For this reason we must welcome and not distrust the Common Market; we should fight obstinate residual protectionism whether it comes from employers or from unions. On the side of travel and education, we should make every effort to encourage this association; there should be a great drive for the teaching of languages and also an effort to establish a *lingua franca*, whether natural or created.

In education there seems to be general agreement about the furthering of science. In the domestic educational disputes which are arising, Liberals must fight for the greatest variety and diversity as opposed to a too uniform State-moulded system. Here the words of our prophet John Stuart Mill come as forcibly as ever in the centenary year of his essay *On Liberty*.

In internal government it is time to have a review of our institutions. It is more than a hundred years since there has been a general review of our political system, although there have been many piece-meal changes. The Whigs of 1832 set about the reform of institutions with courage and foresight, even if they burned up much of their popularity in so doing. First among these questions is the House of Commons itself. Mr. Grimond has already made a powerful plea in *The Unservile State* for a strong, well-staffed committee system. This, which was also advocated by Lloyd George, is always condemned by the dogma that it diminishes ministerial responsibility if a Minister must answer to a committee. This is too easy an answer. It may well be that the organism protected by our present absence of specialized committees is not the Minister but the Department, the civil servants who keep the machine running in its grooves efficiently but who are free from serious inquisition. Indeed it is time that the whole working of the civil service should be enquired into. Its methods of selection, promotion and control, and the means by which it might be reinforced by more specialized elements drawn into it. Are we quite sure that the best results are obtained by moving able graduates from the universities about within and among the departments? Is there not some way of making our civil servants more flexible and more expert at their particular jobs? Graham Wallas has said that competitive examination for the civil service was the one big political invention of the century. And it has served us well. But the English civil servant has become rather like the English

policeman, deemed to be "wonderful", the object of too much uncritical adulation from abroad. Capable and zealous at their tasks, our civil servants have little time, as they seem to have little disposition, to learn by comparison with other countries. Their training and their life in London makes them rather more insular than Members of Parliament or even trade union leaders.

Our local institutions, too, have never been radically surveyed since the eighteen-thirties, and the great Municipal Corporations Act of the Whigs of 1835 still lays down the general lines of our municipal life. Our local bodies are absurdly uniform and to some extent lifeless, for all the hard work they do. Majority voting in small wards has virtually reduced recruitment to Councils to the chosen nominees of the two leading parties. Few others can hope to enter. A very simple electoral change could alter this. And are we satisfied with the bureaucracy of local government, the permanent advisers to whom even the best committees leave so much? How should they be trained, how paid, must each borough or county have an exactly analogous official in each department? Can we attract better men to this profession? What can we learn on such a subject from Germany, Sweden, the United States? We need a much more radical spirit in our approach to local government. We need a more active mentality, indeed we need to be more "*republican*". Be it noted that this word is used in italics and in inverted commas. There is no suggestion of any discontent with the monarchy. While the aristocracy has a somewhat hang-dog air, the throne shines with undiminished splendour and under our present sovereign and her consort with a new intelligence and aptitude. By republican is meant a mode of government in which more of the people take more part in various ways. Could we not experiment with different forms of government, city managers, strong mayors, German burgomasters? Could not such leaders be given a wide discretion in the organization of their staffs? Could nothing be done to give a jolt to cities like Nottingham and Glasgow, to mention two that have incurred some hostile comment? Could we in England be "*republican*" enough to dare even to use direct election of some of our rulers? Such methods have their drawbacks; but our present stagnation may be the greater defect.

The Conservative and Labour parties are quite clear in their minds as to what use they should put the institutions of the country when the shifting lot of politics (as was supposed) would bring them alternately to power. They have shown very little sign of undertaking any radical measure to improve and adapt these institutions in the light of critical thought or the experience of other countries. Liberals, as a free and independent element in politics, can press this theme in a country in which private citizens may be more prepared to welcome experiment than the chartered monopolists of politics imagine.

## THE ELECTION AND AFTER

THE result was very much as might have been foreseen, with the electoral system as it is. A small swing in votes from labour to Conservative produced a highly exaggerated swing in seats. A relatively large increase in Liberal votes drawn from both the other parties produced on balance no change whatever in their representation.

The actual campaign was rather instructive as to up-to-date methods of influencing public opinion. It rather looks as though the influence of T.V. was exaggerated. "Personalities", to use the latest jargon, that is, those regularly appearing on T.V. in roles outside party politics, seemed to have a certain pull, though not all of them were successful. But leading politicians did not seem to have been specially influential; or so far as they were, they seemed to have done better when presented on their own merits than when professionally "dolled-up".

An element in the propaganda battle which seems to have assumed a greater importance than ever before was the "Press Conference". This is a medium which may have great power, but also great risks for the parties. While the leaders are on tour or in their constituencies, statements are made and questions have to be answered at central and regional party offices, often on the spur of the moment, but which are assumed to commit the parties. In my view one of the main factors which influenced voters against the Labour Party during the last few days of the election was the extremely injudicious remarks made at their press conferences about a number of trivial, distorted or exaggerated topics, arising out of day-to-day events. Another factor in the Labour defeat was the way in which the Tories pressed their criticism of the cost of the extensions of the Welfare State proposed by Labour and their failure to make anything like adequate provision for it.

What part did nationalization play in the result? I am sure it did not win Labour a single vote. In so far as it lost them some, I am inclined to the view that this was due mainly to resentment at their pettiness in insisting on re-nationalizing the two industries which they had nationalized before, while tacitly admitting that their pet remedy had no further useful applications. Apart from that I am afraid that the main effect of this question was to re-inforce the old and unfair "split-vote" argument against the Liberals. It remains to be seen what the Labour Party will do next about it and with what effect.

The Tories undoubtedly laid the foundation for their victory long before the campaign officially began by their colossal poster campaign. If they successfully kept this expenditure outside the law of election expenses by (a) omitting the name of any particular candidate and (b) tearing the posters down when the writ was issued, I can only retort that "the law is a hass", and ought to be altered if we want to remove our elections from the taint of "big money". We must abandon the idea that it is enough to limit the expenditure of candidates, and definitely limit also the expenditure of political organizations before and during an actual election.

It is surprising that the memories of a large section of the electors should have been so short as to enable the Tories to get away with that "Peace and Prosperity" image. It was, after all, based upon such a very short and recent experience, in contrast with the years 1955-8, when things were decidedly the other way and obviously due to Government action. It is particularly odd that the voters should have forgotten that they were taken in on very much the same basis in 1955. Will history repeat itself?

The Liberal Party did moderately well in the circumstances. The result in seats was of course disappointing, in spite of Mr. Jeremy Thorpe's splendid win in North Devon. The result in total votes was fairly satisfactory, especially in that a high proportion of the total increase was obviously gained from Labour—pointing the way to a more sensible alignment in the future. The most satisfactory feature to which I can personally testify, having travelled far and wide in the less hopeful areas, was the very high quality of our new young candidates, and the very greatly increased strength, efficiency and determination of the local organizations. It was quite obvious that they did not mean to stop there.

Looking at the election as a national whole I cannot resist the conclusion that it was an exceedingly poor show. The electorate was obviously being invited by both the larger parties to concentrate, and did concentrate, on questions of personal advantage rather than the greater issues affecting the future of the British Commonwealth and the world. And even from that narrow point of view many of the matters discussed, especially by Labour, were incredibly trivial or misconceived. It was to some extent to the credit of the electorate that they seemed to have seen through these.

What of the future? The seriousness of the Labour defeat lies not so much in its extent, which can easily be exaggerated, as in the fact that it is the third in succession, on very much the same issues, and seems to hold out very little hope of the public being willing to change its mind on those issues next time, though of course they have always a chance of taking advantage of future Government mistakes. But it looks as though any major change in Labour policy is bound to lead to a split, simply because their existing unity is based on a series of compromises, especially on nationalization and the H-bomb. Those who are convinced that even the remnants of nationalization must be abandoned must either join the Liberal Party, like Lord Ogmores, or try to impose this view from within, which seems to be the present object of Mr. Douglas Jay. Either course may lead ultimately to the formation of a new non-socialist Radical Party, as suggested by Mr. Grimond, or to some kind of working alliance. It would be rather difficult to drop nationalization from Labour policy, without altering the constitution in which it is completely written. In any case it must lead to a split. So must Mr. Jay's other idea that they should cease to be a "working class party". With it goes the hollow pretence that they represent the working-class—or the trade unions—as a whole, and any possible justification for the political levy as now constituted. It seems that the remedy for Mr. Jay and all who think like him is to follow Lord Ogmores.

ARTHUR S. COMYNS CARR



## A UNIVERSITY AT YORK

THE number of university places in the country has doubled since 1938-9 but it is still inadequate to meet the national demand. Since it is understood that national policy is to extend the number of universities rather than to increase the capacities of existing ones, the question arises where the new ones shall be established. Among the places suggested—or suggesting themselves—York is said to have a strong claim. Why? What are the pre-requisites for a university?

Three hundred years ago citizens of York in a petition to Parliament submitted that the city was most suitable for a university because of its "healthful situation, cheapness of victuals and fuel, some good degree of civility, the convenient distance of it from the other universities and the borders of the kingdom, the advantage of a library, which is there already, and convenient building for such an use." What reception the petition obtained we do not know, but the arguments of the city fathers deserved a better fate than the oblivion that has descended on them; adapted to modern conditions they are still relevant and powerful.

Compared with many towns York can indeed claim a "healthful situation". It escaped the worst of Victorian industrial development, and it stands in a countryside that is still unspoilt. Even the smoke from the shunting yards is diminishing as British Railways proceed with electrification and the introduction of diesels. When emphasizing its "convenient distance" from Oxford and Cambridge our forbears may have had in mind what later generations have called "a catchment area", and in this connection it used to be argued that York had lost her chance when universities were established at Leeds, Sheffield and Hull. But the idea that students wish to, or should necessarily, go to a university in or near their own town is not supported by the evidence. The University Grants Committee, in their report published last year, recognized that living away from home, and where possible in a Hall of Residence, is desirable if students are to make the most of "what a university has to offer outside its formal curriculum." And in any case York claims that its catchment area would extend far beyond the three Ridings to the whole English-speaking world.

A convenient distance from the borders of the kingdom remains true. Since the Legions marched to the Wall, York's importance as a centre of communications has been recognized. By road and by rail it is the best centre of communications in the country—four hours' journey or less from London, Manchester, Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow and Edinburgh. And for those who prefer to fall back on a more leisurely method of transport there is the river—a feature which our older universities have found so essential for work and for play.

The Chairman of the University Grants Committee would approve the last argument of a convenient building. As Sir Keith Murray has emphasized on more than one occasion any city aspiring to university status must have a main site of some 100 to 150 acres so that the development of the university can be planned as a whole. And if the site also contains



some suitable building so much the better. Here York is singularly fortunate. To the south east, and less than two miles from the centre of the city there is a magnificent site of some 150 acres, and the owner, Lord Deramore, has indicated his willingness to consider its sale for this purpose. Within the area is the Elizabethan mansion of Heslington Hall with its own grounds. It would be most suitable that the great house of rose red brick, built by a member of the Council of the North in the shape of the letter E in honour of his great Queen, should in the reign of the second Elizabeth find a new lease of life as the administrative and governing centre of the University of York. Heslington Hall and its grounds are now the property of the Joseph Rowntree Social Service Trust. The Trustees felt that this gracious home with its orangery, its lake and its ancient yews cut in the shape of chessmen should be saved and cared for since it must add to the rich heritage of the city of York. There is every reason to believe that as the heart and centre of the university, the Hall would serve a purpose fitting admirably with the wishes of the Trustees. And how appropriate that it should be linked once again with the Royal palace which was the Council's headquarters, and which the city recently purchased with a view to its use as a college.

A modern essential, but one which apparently did not trouble the citizens of Protectorate York, is money. Only an approximate idea of costs can be given at this stage, but it is estimated that when the university reaches its proposed figure of 2,000 students the annual cost for maintenance might be in the region of £80,000. Capital costs are even more difficult to estimate, but York's university would not cost less than a million. It is true that about 90 per cent of both the capital costs of new buildings and of annual maintenance would come at all stages from Government funds and students' fees, but that still leaves a ten per cent gap. And in the opinion of the University Grants Committee a locality that wants a university will prove that it does so by filling the gap from local sources. Here York is very fortunate. The two Joseph Rowntree Trusts and the Morrell Trust have between them offered £350,000 spread over ten years, for general purposes with the promise of further substantial support when the faculty of social science is developed. And other local trusts are known to be sympathetic. Apart from these the Academic Trust is prepared to make an unconditional gift of all its assets to the university; these, buildings and endowments together, must amount to at least another £75,000.

The York Academic Trust provides the answer to the University Grants Committee's requirements that the situation of a new university should be "one which offers special advantages for university education, having regard to geographical considerations," and that it should provide for research as well as teaching. Though it is only 12 years since the Academic Committee of the Civic Trust started its work, it is now a Trust in its own right and the parent of two thriving Institutes. The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research houses the Archbishop's Archives dating from the eleventh century, and containing unique original material relating mainly to the history of the northern parts of the Kingdom, and the imprint of

St. Anthony's Press is widely recognized by scholars. The Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, housed in the sixteenth century church of St. John, which it saved and remarkably adapted, is unique and has achieved an astonishing reputation in its short life. Both these Institutes cater largely though not entirely for post-graduates; they are proof, if that were needed, that standards of learning in the home of Alcuin are still high by any reckoning.

But when all is said and done a university is more than a site, buildings, research and endowments. Since national interest has been aroused in York's plans, many who are not Yorkshiremen have commended her claims. When the British Association recently revisited its birthplace, its President, Sir James Gray, said: "York has all the virtues and attributes of a great university city. She has vigour and beauty, and the vital statistics are just right." From across the Pennines, the *Guardian*, in warmly welcoming the news, expanded the argument on vital statistics: "It is large enough (with more than 100,000 citizens) to preserve an academic staff from social isolation, yet not so large that finding elbow-room has become a problem. Great industrial districts are near enough to be interested in it, and it stands in the heart of a cluster of smaller towns . . . Moreover the city has a tradition of civic pride and public spirit."

Such a tradition is surely a very real asset. Though the interests of Town and Gown may clash on occasion there is a great deal that each can learn from the other, and a healthy respect for the other "authority" is no bad thing. York is a very ancient city and it is long since she had an infusion of new, young blood. For their part undergraduates are as quick to recognize the realities of history and civic pride as they are to blow the bubble of a spurious tradition. The Dean, a Cambridge man, coming to York as a stranger, has said his first thought was "what an ideal site for a university." And those of us who went to the other place will agree that York has some touch of "that secret none can utter."

Perhaps it was something of this secret that the men of 1654 were seeking to put into words when they advanced "some good degree of civility" as one of the advantages which would attend on a university established at York. That it was a quality prized in the seventeenth century is shown in a definition put forward at Oxford in 1690: "The Universities are the public nurseries of Religion, Piety, Learning and Civility." It is a word which has borne different shades of meaning throughout the centuries. It was used at one time for good policy—the orderly state of the country; it has been defined as conformity to the principles of social order—good citizenship; or simply and comprehensively it means the state of being civilized. In each and all of these meanings civility is a quality to adorn any university.

It is sometimes argued that the future of the country lies in the hands of its scientists and that consequently new universities should have a bias in that direction. Science and York have not at first sight very obvious connections whereas the advantages the city has to offer to the student of history, of architecture or of music are self evident. It is true York has

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a strong link with the social sciences through the work and inspiration of Joseph Rowntree and his son Seebohm, while in the sphere of mental health the reputation of the Retreat is world-wide. But it is science in a wider connotation that is foremost in many people's minds. There is considerable agreement for the thesis that science and the humanities are complementary; much difference of opinion as to how and to what extent they can be welded together. Sir James Gray, asking himself what additional training he would like to have had, replied: "I would like to have been trained to think dispassionately about current social and political affairs in the light of experience drawn from the past, and to have been taught to appreciate beautiful things." Where better could scientists be given such training than in the most lovely city in the Kingdom?

V. A. HEIGHAM

## REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION

IN the doorway of the National Liberal Club in London there is a heroic bust of Gladstone. Under it are inscribed the words that William Ewart Gladstone said (at Chester): "The principle of the Tory Party is distrust of the people qualified by fear; the principle of the Liberal Party is trust in the people qualified by prudence." From the days of James Mill the Liberals preserved this theme of prudence. What they demanded was democracy—but an educated democracy. They were educational aristocrats and, with a certain ingenuousness, they thought that all men would readily accept the leadership of the educated. Thomas Jefferson in America had the same obsession. "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free," said the great President, "it expects what never was and never will be." James Mill held that the educated (chiefly middle class) for the rest would, almost self-evidently, be "models for their imitation".

Putting aside the basic issue of "Knowledge for What?", discussed by Robert Lynd, we have to confess that today there is no adequate consensus about who are the educated, who have a right to guide, or in what does "being educated" consist. For one it is skill in Latin and for another skill in handicrafts. For one the culmination lies in philosophy and for another in pragmatic ingenuity. And—more radical—many are inclined to say that, in a democracy, all opinions on this matter are born free and equal and that each voter's opinion should count for one. Any other view is readily called "undemocratic". Sometimes, however, it is argued that the homes of educational prestige should be thrown open to all because the education is so good; and sometimes the talk runs that this would scarcely seem worthwhile because the education is alleged to be so inept and bad. Others say that the crux of the matter is that, good or bad, this privileged education gives social prestige and concrete power. The man who bears "the guinea

stamp" of probity yet tends to comment with modest pride that, for himself, he was "educated in the university of life".

James Bryant Conant, sometime President of Harvard, as all the world knows is indubitably a democrat. He is, however, a prudent democrat. In his recent book, *The American High School Today*, he divides the school population into three categories, the ordinary run-of-the-road students, the "academically talented" and "the highly gifted". It is worth noting that the last group constitutes only three per cent of the whole—roughly the proportion, one may remark, of the Communist Party in Russia to its total population—and "the academically talented" constitute about a further 17 per cent. However, unlike the more impetuous Jefferson, Conant certainly does not dismiss 80 per cent of humanity as "the rubbish". They are not even quite to be regarded as "the common man". To get the best results the grades should, under conditions provided by comprehensive schools, be socially mixed together. As a sometime Master of University College, Oxford, said to this writer: "It is the pass-men who keep us normal." And Conant significantly adds: "Each honest calling, each walk of life has its own *élite*, its own aristocracy, based on excellence of performance." It was a theme which Dr. Conant developed in an address in McGill University this year. It expresses what was, in this respect, the social philosophy of the medieval "worshipful guilds". It is not the philosophy of some desiccated and conceited *intelligenza*, so unlike Chaucer's pious cleric of Oxenford.

We may feel that, if we want to engage in educational reform, we do not need to go to North America to gather experience. Such an attitude is either arrogant or excessively optimistic. Statistics may be despised as "the third degree of lying", but they nevertheless show strange and illuminating things. Emphatically great universities are built as Alcaeus said cities are built, upon men and not upon bricks. Nevertheless he would be a great optimist who believed that much educational reform can be carried through without large expenditure of money. All British political parties have put forward educational expansion as an item in their programme. But it would be well for them to digest the fact that, whereas the expenditure of the main Treasury channel of subsidy, the University Grants Committee, in 1957-8 for *all* British universities, for recurrent and non-recurrent items, was £45.9 millions, the expenditure in 1957-8 of the State of California for (among 17 subsidized institutions) the University of California *alone* was £49 million. (The total expenditure in the year of this university was \$241 million.) It may be that, in Britain, more is being done to finance education than in many countries of Europe, although in the Soviet Union professors are allocated salaries, to inculcate proletarian equality, which can make the mouths of their Western colleagues water in helpless envy. Nevertheless a country, such as Britain, of proclaimed buoyancy and boom should seriously consider whether it is doing enough in the educational field to double the standard of living in 25 years. The brief answer is that educationally it is not; the sights are set too low. It was not so long ago that the annual output of graduate students in Britain.

in accordance with what may have seemed to be an elegant graph, roughly corresponded at the top of the intellectual scale with the number, at the bottom of that scale, of inmates annually of the country's lunatic asylums. In the United States this year half of the 1,500,000 students leaving high school will be going into university colleges—and the population of the United States is only three times that of Britain.

Some objectors will here be tempted to reply: "So what? What do they do with it?" I shall be content to answer that, for Britain, the question to be answered is: what do we do with it? Is it not the case that many lads with college qualifications do not get there? Does not far too small a proportion of our population get into university colleges in this twentieth century Britain? The reply is a clear "yes". In the field of the natural sciences—perhaps for reasons more connected with national security than with sound education—there is some willingness to admit this. But it can also well be illustrated in the field of engineering. The Americans make technical developments because they have a large number of men at call who, if not first class, are yet trained young engineers. In Britain a small group of possibly more brilliant engineers have no such auxiliaries at call and are too dignified scientists to do the work themselves. In America, in the event of war or emergency, blue prints can be sent out to every little factory which the engineers there, products of small town colleges, are competent to interpret. In Britain the engineers of small factories are often "practical men" who cannot read a blue print. However, we may better rest the argument on the solid ground that "a tincture of culture is a good thing" and that a democracy, to work, means an educated electorate. It is a brute fact that the young men from the British manual working class are resentful because they still cannot get into colleges—Oxford and Cambridge between them do not account for 20,000 students—and that the division (and the jealousy) between the university man and the business man in Britain is a thoroughly bad thing for the prosperity and health of the country. Any great Vice-Chancellor will be well advised so to counsel his Chambers of Commerce.

The objections to change come from two quarters. On the one hand there is the complaint that, for all the money spent on betting, we cannot afford the expense involved. It is an argument which does not deserve great patience. If we did more for ourselves, then I see no reason, with its great factory at Dagenham, why the Ford Company should not follow the example of Andrew Carnegie and (alongside the Nuffield Foundation) set up a new Ford Foundation of Britain, with all its hopeful possible consequences. The other source of objection lies in academic snobbery, camouflaged and rationalized as "protection of standards". Oxford and Cambridge, it can even be argued against this, are intellectual vampires sucking the young ability of the whole country. More soberly it can be said that, instead of the "red brick universities" being regarded as an essential part of a modern educational system, commanding the loyalty and the contributions of the local merchants, they are still far too often regarded as second-class intellectual citizens, Cinderellas who never even

have their night-out. For this the local business communities, with their exclusive city clubs and their sons in Oxford and Cambridge—those who should be, even in their own industrial interest, the chief source of support—are in no small measure responsible. However, this lack of local pride is matched by an entrenched academic distrust upon the part of those who feel that the worth-while universities should be, if not exclusively training grounds for near-genius (which has seldom been respectful of dons), at least primarily a training ground for near-Balliol men—the kind of “first class minds by examination” which used to dominate the British Treasury. We should be clear that the country cannot be run by Treasury men and that it would not even be a good thing if it could. Moreover a man who may not be of all-round first class ability, “a Greats First”, may nevertheless be precisely the national or world chief expert in some particular line of ability or knowledge.

Hence the development of county universities, such as are planned now in Brighton and Norwich, are to be welcomed. They should not, however, be saddled with an inferior status from the start. They should not become part of a vast educational empire of London University examinations, while Oxford and Cambridge sleep. They should confer their own degrees and stand on their own feet. They should rise or fall until they find their own level. And every major county, Lincoln or Essex, should have one, sustained in a major measure from county funds. Nor should we be squeamish about seeing there schools of engineering, of dentistry, of agriculture, of veterinary medicine. We need them all.

One major difficulty, however, has not yet been mentioned. This is of making provision for what Dr. Conant calls “the highly gifted” and of not holding them back. We need not press the point that, according to Dr. Conant’s statistics and unless Britain lags behind America, there may be a million and a half of these in the population. It is enough to say that there are more than can be prudently accommodated, at the student age, in Oxford and Cambridge. It may be conceded that the college system has shown unexpected elasticity. Nevertheless it is doubtful whether many heads of college will be found who will not maintain both that the residential and (more questionably) the tutorial system should be upheld and, also, that there is an optimum limit for both Oxford and Cambridge of about 8,000 each. The logical conclusion is clear: we need another major university.

There is an additional argument. Both Oxford and Cambridge are, in a certain sense, “undergraduate universities”. The young men of promise coming on to them, as international *studia generalia*, are likely in increasing numbers to be graduates (as for long has been the case with men coming from the Scottish universities). Nevertheless the tendency of Oxford, of as recently as a generation ago, was to advise the brighter man to read for “Greats” and take again a B.A. degree. Whatever the student wanted, this was what Oxford wanted. There are indeed those, such as Professor Max Beloff, who will express the view that “there is far too much research”. This is possibly a minority view and probably a perverse view. The pro-



vision, however, of an adequate and organized graduate school, with all its advantages for the better tutor who also has a creative or research interest, as well as for the better student, will probably be, in the first case, easier in a new university. In the words of Benjamin Jowett a century ago: "At present not a tenth or a twentieth part of the ability of the country comes to the university." These liberal words are still largely true—and, if true, something should be done about it. But it is not true that Oxford and Cambridge alone can accommodate these men, residentially or indeed at all.

There is only one proper location for such a new great university which could look Paris and Bologna—and Columbia and California—in the face. It is York. This great city is made for the purpose. The Roman capital of Britain with great historical possessions, the seat of the School of Alcuin, it has the regional population, residential possibilities and wide local loyalty required to sustain the first years. The distinguished family of Rowntree has indeed promised £100,000 towards this end, acting through the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust. But Churchill College, Cambridge—sincerely believed by one elector in a southern constituency to be "a home for old folks", but actually a covein for physical scientists when what we want are social scientists—is estimated to cost £3 million, and perhaps £5 million. The lowest self-respecting sum, therefore, for the University of the North would be £15 million. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer, who will be expected to provide vast sums to broaden roads to increase cars to increase congestion, should consider this. It may require a new Royal Commission; but even a certain delay would be worthwhile if the issue was a right policy. Incidentally it is to be hoped that the legal corporation of the university will not be any Governors or Trustees but the President and Fellows.

GEORGE E. GORDON CATLIN

## RUSSIA'S CHANGING EDUCATION

IT is now several years since Sir Winston Churchill and President Eisenhower drew attention to the fact that the Soviet training of scientists and technicians was surpassing our own. Professor J. D. Bernal in *World Without War* notes that the U.S.S.R. has 20,000 field geologists, more than the rest of the world put together. And in a letter to *The Times*, Sir John Cockroft, Sir Edward Appleton, Professor Bruce Pattison and others noted that the Russians' training was now such that that they could "probably put into the foreign field a greater number of well-trained teachers of English than we could." Whereas Czarist Russia was some 80 per cent illiterate and only 10,000,000 people were having any



form of education, 30,000,000 people were receiving some form of education in the U.S.S.R. by 1937.

The Soviet theory of education is based on Marx's statement in the *Communist Manifesto*: "Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production." All children attend the same type of school except for the physically or mentally incapacitated. Each class contains what in Britain would be identified as elements from A, B and C streams. The support of the children is enlisted for collective competition and the more advanced are encouraged to help the backward ones, a process that greatly relieves the burden on the teacher. The way in which this team spirit is achieved in the classroom—known here only on the sports ground—is a large subject and deserves separate treatment. The system of schooling proper in the U.S.S.R. starts the children at the age of seven or eight, but local authorities can now take them younger. Prior to school, there is a vast network of crèches and kindergartens for the children of working mothers. For the rest, no retardation appears to result from the later start.

In the first phase of the Soviet period one of the main tasks was the "liquidation of illiteracy" among adults, mainly achieved by 1932. This period at the same time greatly popularized adult education as such. Universal elementary education was first introduced for the eight to 12-year-olds, with a gradual raising of the school leaving age, and the towns in the lead, until by 1956 the majority of town children were able to stay at school until they were 17. The number of school-leavers with a complete secondary education was 1,250,000, and the university intake was 450,000.

There was, however, still a considerable leakage along the line and, as Mr. Khrushchev pointed out, there were still 20 per cent of the children who were drifting away from school before they had completed even seven years. Up to now school attendance in the U.S.S.R. has not been enforced anything like as rigorously as it is in this country, although with the present school year a new drive on this is being instituted. Certain faults in the existing system were spotlighted by Khrushchev last autumn in a set of proposals submitted to the whole country for discussion. First, though Soviet education had always laid stress on the need for practical training as well as academic, under the somewhat clumsy title of "polytechnical education", the young people emerging from school at 17 were in many cases proving quite unequipped for any ordinary job, while quite a number of them were refusing work altogether, hanging round "waiting to get into a university", encouraged by parents who regarded their failure to do so as an even greater calamity than "failing the 11-plus" is in this country. Secondly, even young people who, on their school record, got places in the universities, sometimes chose the wrong speciality, and a number of graduates from the universities were proving failures in the practical field though academically qualified. Already, two years ago, new regulations were introduced giving priority in admission to universities to those who had concluded two years of work over those who had just left school.

Thirdly, many universities themselves were divorced from practical life. Khrushchev castigated the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy for using models of cows instead of arranging that all students should spend an adequate part of their time on real farms. Hence, the new system has been introduced, based on a general compulsory eight-year schooling to be followed by a variety of possible combinations of further secondary education and practical work.

The curriculum of the new eight-year plan naturally starts with the three R's, going on to an all-round course including language and literature (Russians for Russians, and the choice of their own language or Russian for all the rest, with Russian as a second language where they choose their own language first); one foreign language, history, geography (including economic geography), mathematics, science with special stress on natural sciences, physical education, and for the whole eight years music and singing. Labour is a special subject in training for work, and a system of "self-service" is being introduced by which pupils will devote several hours a week to school maintenance jobs, and also two weeks a year to work of public importance, such as the care of public parks and gardens, local public improvements, and so on. The keeping of small livestock, poultry and rabbits is also encouraged.

The number of children in boarding schools is to be steadily increased, to reach 1,350,000 by 1965. The majority of these schools are placed not far from the children's homes, and contact with parents and families is encouraged at weekends as well as on special occasions. The boarding schools, like all other schools, are co-educational.

On finishing the eight-year period a variety of possibilities is provided. First, a further three years at a secondary polytechnical school, at which two days a week will be devoted to practical work in production. Secondly, a six-hour day job coupled with secondary schooling in evening classes. For this, large factories are to organize their own schools to dovetail with a six-hour working day. Thirdly, particularly for those in remote areas, secondary schooling by correspondence. To complete a secondary education the students must cover: in physics, atomic physics, semi-conductors and plastics; in chemistry, high-molecular compounds including plastics, rubbers and synthetic fibres; and in biology, the latest developments in agriculture and stock-breeding. There are to be four holiday periods a year, three short ones by our standards and a long one in summer, as follows: November 5 to 10, December 30 to January 10, March 24 to 31, and in summer 85 days for the first four years, 72 days for the fifth to seventh year, and 66 days from the eighth to eleventh years.

On completing a full secondary education the best students will go on to university. Here, too, combination of study with work is being strongly advocated and it is felt that the university intake will be now much improved, and standards kept up, by the constant trying out of every student in practical as well as academic work. To make life easier for those who are pursuing some form of study, a scale of extra leave has been issued, ranging from ten to 40 days a year, plus an additional 30 days

paid leave for preparing for and sitting State examinations. Moreover, in the ten months before diploma work or a State examination workers will get one day off a week at half pay.

To dispel the alarm which may be felt by those who fear that education in the U.S.S.R. is being geared too closely to jobs (but isn't it more and more the same everywhere?), it should be noted that another recent development has been the opening of "cultural universities" catering for adults. These function in the evenings and on Sundays, and cover such subjects as literature, theatre, ballet, art, music and the cinema. They vary considerably, as local initiative plays a large part in deciding on the curriculum. A course on a particular branch of the arts appears as a rule to cover its history, theory, forms, a study of the life and work of its outstanding exponents since antiquity, and some practical training.

Gradually the working week in the U.S.S.R. is being reduced. By the end of 1962 nobody will work more than a 40-hour week, and many will work less. In 1963 a start will be made on going over to a 35-hour working week consisting of five working days of seven hours each. In underground and arduous jobs it will be 30 hours. The present developments in education open up a prospect that within a few years almost every citizen of the U.S.S.R. will be enjoying the lowest working week in the world, but will be using at least a part of his or her free time on some branch of further education.

PAT SLOAN

### THE FRENCH SCENE

GENERAL DE GAULLE'S declaration of September 16 on Algeria stirred a public opinion which had long been quiescent, waiting and seeing. His short tour of the North, ten days later, brought evidence of this awakening. The President's frequent progresses to different parts of the country enable him to sound popular feeling and, no doubt, show a paternal desire to keep in touch with his constituents, for local mayors and councillors form an important part of the electoral college by which the President is chosen. The exceptional warmth of his reception in the North may reasonably be attributed, not so much to a general satisfaction with the Gaullist régime, as to a popular impression that the declaration of September 16 may have half-opened the door to peace in Algeria.

In an introductory passage of this same speech the President of the Republic briefly resumed the achievements to date of the new régime. The equilibrium of the finances, of the exchanges and the currency is strongly

established. It results from this summary that the financial restoration is regarded as the capital work, the first preliminary necessity before the task of economic renovation can be undertaken. The revival of confidence in the franc is certainly a notable achievement. A store of 2,000 million dollars of foreign currency has been accumulated. The deficit of foreign trade exchanges in the first seven months is 86 per cent lower this year compared with last year. The tendency to expansion in certain active sections of industry has been resumed, and unemployment has dwindled. The industrial group of the steel industry is issuing a loan—but at the high rate of about six per cent—to finance investments. Financial restoration is, however, being rigidly defended. M. Pinay's obstinate resistance to the spending departments has prevented the estimated budget deficit for 1960 from exceeding what the Minister of Finance regards as the supportable level of 600 milliards. Any economic or social development which endangers the financial scheme is resisted. Any general advance in wages is sternly deprecated. The recent tendency to a rise in prices has provoked Government control in certain sectors. The discussion of wage rates, usual on the resumption of activity in the autumn, is nevertheless in the air. Stabilization of wages means that the monetary policy imposes a disproportionate burden on workpeople because the purchasing power of a working class family, though it has improved by two to four per cent since the beginning of the year, is estimated to be still as much as eight or ten per cent below the level of the spring of 1957.

In late September a sharp rise in the prices of fruit and vegetables was met by the freeing of imports, and the fixing of limits to the margin of retailers' profits, the retail prices, according to a Government communiqué, ranging from 22 to 54 per cent above wholesale prices. The retailers decided on the unusual course of closing their shops for one day in protest. The prolonged drought has greatly damaged the dairy industry in Normandy; the famous cheeses are scarce and butter has had to be imported.

In consequence of the preoccupation with the financial effort the Government is not pursuing a general and dynamic economic policy. It is treating particular problems such as aid to exporters, as they are opportune, but not as part of a general scheme. The pressing problem of schools and teachers for them is being dealt with provisionally and is not being attacked on the grand scale which is obviously needed. Housing has been taken in hand with a show of energy, but the French effort is still a long way behind that of other Western countries in this field. This individual treatment of problems without a general design may lead to inconsistencies. An observant economist has remarked that credits are accorded to the campaign against alcoholism and also for the propaganda in favour of the wine industry. But a policy of thorough economic restoration can hardly be undertaken while the war in Algeria continues.

The essential political act in General de Gaulle's declaration of September 16 was the solemn proclamation of the recourse to auto-determination in Algeria. Many factors contributed to the decision to make this move. The occasion was furnished by the perspective of the meeting

of the U.N. Assembly and another awkward debate there on Algeria. Auto-determination is one of the principles in the United Nations' charter. The second most important feature of the declaration was not a positive act but a statement the three conceivable solutions among which the Algerians, "in their 12 departments", would choose. Secession ("in which certain people believe they discover independence"); or complete "*francisation*", by which the Algerians would become an integral part of the French people, which would then extend effectively "from Dunkirk to Tamanrasset"; or government of the Algerians by the Algerians leaning on the aid of France and in close union with her for the economy, education, defence, foreign relations, a federal type of régime—these are set out as the possible alternatives. The phrasing is ingenious by its allusions in the several alternatives to points calculated to please or mollify various parties concerned: the reference to independence in the first, the quotation about Tamanrasset from an Algiers slogan of last year in the presentation of "*francisation*" (a word, by the way, which must have embarrassed the literary purist who wrote it). The vote of the Algerians, said General de Gaulle, will take place not more than four years after the "effective return to peace". This date of effective pacification is curiously fixed as the moment at which ambushes and attempts against life will not have cost the lives of 200 persons in a year.

The declaration was not addressed to the F.L.N., but they assembled at Tunis as members of the "Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic" and issued a statement commenting on it. They accepted auto-determination—a concession from their previous insistence on the recognition of independence as a preliminary—and they offered to negotiate with the French Government. The Paris nationalist papers promptly interpreted the F.L.N. statement as a disguised "No" to the de Gaulle declaration. The Government took no public notice of the F.L.N. intervention and M. Couve de Murville, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a speech on Algeria before the United Nations made no reference to it. As auto-determination is agreed there would be general surprise if any contact with the leaders of the insurrection were regarded as undesirable or impossible at this point. M. Bourguiba does not believe in a deadlock, for he promptly offered himself as an intermediary. The F.L.N. leaders are concerned to get themselves recognized as authentic representatives of the Algerian people. General de Gaulle had invited them to Paris last October, but the invitation was not addressed to the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

Among the repercussions of these events the most spectacular was a joint letter sent by 15 "activist" associations in Algeria summoning each and all of the Algerian Deputies to put the Government in a minority on a vote of censure. Even if such a vote were pressed it does not seem that the Government is in any danger. But the Parliamentary groups of the majority were thrown into confusion. The partisans of French-Algeria could, of course, fall back on a campaign in favour of "*francisation*", but that is a relatively distant and uncertain issue. The discontent of the nationalist

Right with the liberalism of the President of the Republic was reflected in the inscription "de Gaulle—Mendès" painted on many walls in Paris and the suburbs. A pause in these excitements occurred, and people began to wonder whether the initiative of General de Gaulle would be followed by a period of suspense, such as those which for so long succeeded his enigmatic speeches on Algeria. It may be simply, however, that the President is allowing time for the reactions to wear themselves out.

In Parliament it seems possible that a fair number of Algerian Deputies will dissociate themselves from the majority on the Algerian issue, and that some Moderates and U.N.R. Deputies will be also more or less disaffected. In a general way the Government's new Algerian policy is opposed by these elements of the Right but supported by the Left of the majority, whereas the Right supports the financial and economic policy which the Left opposes. The Government is said to dislike this tendency which would lead them to switch from one majority to another according to the questions at issue, in the Fourth-republican manner.

In 1960 the Cameroons, Togoland, Somaliland and Nigeria will all become independent States, and there is some apprehension as to the effect this movement may have on the West African populations of the French Communauté. The only French African territory which opted for independence at the referendum was Guinea, but the Sudan and Senegal, which form the Mali republic, are contemplating an approach to independence. The Sudan seems to be attracted towards close relations with Guinea. M. Senghor, President of the Mali Assembly, also favours independence in principle, but he wishes it to be accompanied by the creation of a Confederation between France and her former African territories. He prefers confederation between independent States to a federation in which each State enjoys internal autonomy, but France reserves the direction of certain affairs like foreign relations and defence. What the Confederalists care about most is the complete liberty to deal with other African States on terms of equality.

M. Mendès-France and his immediate associates among the Radicals have joined the Autonomous Socialist Party formed by important Socialists who resigned from the S.F.I.O. on account of its political action in the last legislature. Other groups of the Left have also joined forces with this organization in an attempt to create an active and broadly based Left. M. Mendès-France, who is clearly a conspicuous leader in the movement, told his new colleagues that the effort required would not be reserved for the next general election which, in the normal course, will take place four years hence. Before that time the Algerian problem will be settled, well or ill, the Communauté will have been constructed or will have exploded, the working-class will have awakened from the apathy in which last year's events had plunged it, international problems will have received good or bad solutions.

In his speech of October 13 on Algeria, carefully read before the National Assembly, M. Debré, the Prime Minister, ranged himself loyally behind the President of the Republic, with precautions intended to keep with



him the malcontents of the Right. Critics, who included M. Bidault, referring to past speeches, quoted M. Debré against himself, and one orator said that the Fifth Republic was already dead and the Sixth had begun on September 16. M. Debré's firmest stand was the statement that General de Gaulle's declaration of September 16 was not a basis of discussion but the announcement of the settled policy and plan of France. This affirmation followed a renewed declaration that General de Gaulle's offer of a cease-fire, on terms which he had indicated in October, 1958, was permanently open, but would be confined to that subject. After the Assembly debate nine "activist" members of the U.N.R. withdrew from that group in protest against the Government's policy. At his press conference of November 10 he reaffirmed in clear terms the conditions in which auto-determination will be exercised. (He also took occasion to emphasize that if the Summit conference was to be effective it must be carefully prepared, and announced that Mr. Khrushchev would visit France in March.)

In a report accompanying the Finance Bill for the coming year, M. Giscard d'Estaing, states that, taking into account possibilities of increase of production, an increase of wages by about three per cent on an average would appear to be compatible with the maintenance of economic equilibrium. In consequence of the rise in the index of retail prices and in application of the sliding scale the minimum wage per hour will be slightly raised on November 1.

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## CHATEAUBRIAND—II: GÉNIE DU CHRISTIANISME

CHATEAUBRIAND, unlike Joseph de Maistre, thought with his emotions and it was domestic bereavements, not theological arguments, which restored him to the faith of his fathers. Cut off from Catholic influences during his seven years in Protestant England, and at all times more attracted by literature and the arts, travel and politics, than by speculation, he drifted along on the tide of tolerant scepticism which had satisfied him in his youth. His religious indifference had been almost as painful as his physical absence to his pious mother and sister, and the death of the former in 1798 began the process of conversion which was to transform him into the principal champion of the Church in France. He was deeply moved by Julie's reproaches that their mother's closing years had been saddened by his incredulity, and when she followed her to the grave the battle was won. On his return to France in 1800 he brought with him the first version of his greatest book.

He was met by his friend Fontanes, a royalist who had climbed on the



Bonaparte band-wagon and who remained his chief backer in official circles. As a friend of Bonaparte and the lover of Eliza Baciocchi he had ready access to the First Consul. Though no more temperamentally religious than Chateaubriand, he was anxious to reconcile the Church to the new master of France. For this purpose nothing could be more useful than to secure the publication of a work which would find its way into circles beyond the reach of purely theological appeals. In *Génie du Christianisme ou les Beautés de la Religion Chrétienne* he found what he wanted, and he knew enough of Bonaparte's mind to feel certain that he would like it too. He was also enough of a *littérateur* to realize that no living Frenchman could write like his friend. "No cult, no government," he wrote to Lucien. "Next to a victorious army I know no better allies than the people who direct consciences in God's name, and wise conquerors are never on bad terms with priests." Lucien revived the official *Moniteur* with Fontanes as editor, who announced the book as calculated to end the quarrel between philosophers and the friends of religion. Parts of the work were read to admiring listeners in the salon of Pauline de Beaumont. When, at the suggestion of Fontanes and Joubert the story of Atala was detached from the major work and launched as a *ballon d'essai* the success revealed the strength of the romantic movement and confirmed the conviction of the author and his friend, that *Génie du Christianisme* would be warmly welcomed. Published in April, 1802, one week after the Concordat, it took the world by storm. Read in proof by Lucien, reviewed by Fontanes in the *Moniteur* and garlanded with compliments to the First Consul and his sister Eliza, it had the appearance of an official enterprise and the author was hailed as a restorer of religion second only to the ruler himself. As a result of its appearance, wrote the proud author many years later in his memoirs, religion was tinted with the colour of his religious pictures. Atheism and materialism were no longer in fashion and anti-religious prejudice relaxed. That the *Philosophes* frowned on his religious beliefs and intransigent royalists on his association with the usurper was neither a surprise nor an obstacle. The immense success of the work generated political ambition. Perhaps, he wrote to Fontanes, he could be sent to Rome as Secretary to Cardinal Fesch. When he met the First Consul for the first time at the house of Lucien they were well pleased with each other. He despatched a copy to the Pope with a flattering letter. The second edition, published in 1803, contained a fulsome dedication to Bonaparte, who declared that he had never been better praised. The author was rewarded by an appointment to the French Embassy at Rome, and when he was received by the Pope he found a copy of the book on the table. Never had the picture of the Church as the mother of civilization been painted in such brilliant colours. Though his conversion had no effect on his dissolute life—and Sainte-Beuve, who knew him well, justly describes him as an Epicurean with a Catholic imagination—the magical style, wide knowledge and vast scope of his survey won a multitude of readers and helped to make history. He woke up to find himself the brightest star in the literary firmament at a time when the throne long occupied by Voltaire

was vacant. Frenchmen of all parties were proud of an authentic genius who ranked with Scott and Byron, Goethe and Manzoni.

The spirit and purpose of the treatise were explained 30 years later in a new preface when it appeared in three substantial volumes of the collected works. France at the dawn of the century, he recalled, was emerging from revolutionary chaos, and the book was composed among the *débris* of her temples. The faithful found salvation in a book which corresponded to their deepest sentiments. They felt the need of faith, a craving for religious consolation after long years of deprivation, hastening to church as people run to a doctor in an epidemic or to a rock after shipwreck. "Filled with memories of our ancient values, the glory and the monuments of our kings," the book breathed the spirit of the old monarchy. The French learned to regret the past and hopes that were almost extinguished revived. A lengthy Introduction opens with a broadside against the Reformation, a schism leading to heresy and atheism. After Bossuet had destroyed the hydra of heresy, Voltaire introduced a new and even graver evil by rendering incredulity fashionable; religion was despised and its defenders were ignored. Perhaps France, after seeing where unbelief led, would listen. Approaching his task as artist and poet, not as a theologian, he set out to present the manifold beauties of Christianity. "Will it be less true when it appears more beautiful? God does not forbid the flower-lined paths when they lead to Him." Turning his back on the arid rationalism of the eighteenth century he salutes the Christian virtues—modesty, chastity, innocence. Religious sentiment was born in forests, the home of mystery. "Everything in the universe is hidden, unknown. Is not man himself a strange mystery? All religions revealed the attraction of mankind for the mysterious—sacred caves, holy mountains, holy trees, sacrifices. God Himself is the great secret."

Passing from Christian virtues to Christian doctrines, he argues that all peoples believed in a state of primitive innocence followed by a fall which alone explained the nature and history of man. How else could we understand the misfortunes of the just and the success of evildoers? Reason alone never dried a tear: that only a Redeemer could do. Every doctrine, every ceremony, every injunction, the incarnation, baptism, confession, confirmation, was an aid to the good life. Christ had made marriage a sacrament, and the Church rightly forbade divorce which rendered it insecure. The celibacy of the clergy is approved and extreme unction applauded as the beautiful consummation of a Christian life. As pride was the worst of spiritual offences, the sin of Satan, a challenge to God, so faith, hope and charity were the primary Christian virtues. Faith alone produced great achievements, and hope made our sufferings bearable. The Ten Commandments were applicable to all nations and for all time, for they were the laws of God.

Travelling far beyond the limits of his title, Chateaubriand plunges fearlessly into the deep waters of theology. Assuming the literal truth of the Book of Genesis, he compares primitive men to animals without a sense of sin and therefore without sin. His fall was the penalty of his pride, the

Flood God's vengeance on sinners. Far from contradicting the truths of religion, science revealed the grandeur and wisdom of Providence, for the clearest proof of the existence of God was to be found in the marvels of nature. "There is a God. All nature, the animal world proclaims it. Man alone has said: there is no God." Can chance have produced so perfect an order? Think of the complex organization of animal life and flowers. Everywhere design: all nature, the whole animal world, proclaimed it. Chateaubriand was a close observer of nature and frequently draws on his American travels, marvelling at the instinct of migration and delighting in the song of birds. Why were such monsters as crocodiles created? He cannot answer the question, but he pleads in mitigation that at any rate they possess a wonderful maternal instinct. Plants and flowers were equally marvellous. Nothing was more conducive to piety than long sea voyages such as he had experienced, alone with nature. "I pity the man who with this spectacle before him has not felt the majesty and beauty of God and our human impotence in view of the infinite." He had had the same feelings in the vast spaces of the new world. "In Europe we are never far from human habitations, in parts of America the soul was alone with God. The loveliest nights in Europe cannot convey any idea of it."

In rejecting the belief in a Supreme Being atheists were also renouncing the hope of another life, but at this point their own souls began to protest. If death is the end, how can we explain the craving for survival? The whole universe fails to satisfy the soul, for only the infinite can meet its needs. Everyone, secretly if not openly, aspires to an unknown happiness, and the hope was implanted in us by a merciful Providence to lessen the fear of death. Conscience was the voice of God with its phases of remorse for evil-doing, and its satisfaction in fulfilling the divine will was another pointer to immortality. Without such belief morality would collapse. Atheists were never happy, especially in old age, for their hearts were empty. All religions believed in rewards and punishments in another life, and the reward of the just would be a state of eternal admiration of the Perfect Being while they cry Holy, Holy, Holy in eternal ecstasy.

Christianity had left its mark on literature and the arts—think of Dante, Tasso and Milton. The author had brought back from England not only a thorough knowledge of English but an abiding admiration for *Paradise Lost*, which he was later to translate. The main theme of great literature was love, and Christianity had helped to tame the passions of the heart by a heavenly wind which fills the sails of virtue, spiritualizing the master passion by pacifying the heart. Christianity itself is a sort of passion with its ardours and sighs, its joys and its tears. Though well versed in the classics and a fervent admirer of Virgil, he maintains that the pre-Christian world can show nothing to match the ecstasy of martyrdom nor the sustaining conviction of an after-life as portrayed for example in Corneille's *Polyeucte*. Even purely as literature the Bible was superior to Homer. Christianity had always been the chief inspiration of the arts—far more favourable to painting than any other religion owing to its spiritual and mystical element and a tenderness elsewhere unknown. Sculpture could

boast of the Moses of Michelangelo, architecture of Santa Sophia and St. Peter's, and of what are described as the three masterpieces, the dome, the campanile and the spire. A Gothic church inspired a feeling of awe and a vague sense of the divine.

The writing of history, like all other forms of intellectual activity, was indebted to Christianity, but here for once Chateaubriand awards the palm to the classical world. The only supreme achievement was Bossuet's *Histoire Universelle*, which received the compliment of an elaborate reply in Voltaire's *Essai sur les Mœurs*, but even Voltaire was conscious of the stature of St. Louis. The French had excelled in the writing of memoirs, which gave them freer scope in dealing with the passions, and de Ritz was an acknowledged master of the craft. In pulpit eloquence the record was still finer, for Bossuet and Massillon were at least the equals of Cicero and Demosthenes, who, like all the ancients, knew only the eloquence of the agora and the law-courts and understood less of the human heart. Bossuet's *Oraisons Funèbres* indeed were the supreme effort of human eloquence and caused at any rate one reader to shed tears of admiration. The atheist with his narrow vision, seeing nothing noble in nature, could never soar into the heavens like the Eagle of Meaux. Despite the great figures of Montesquieu and Buffon the eighteenth century was inferior to the seventeenth, for incredulity reduced the standard of taste and discouraged genius. The atheist confines his thought within a circle of mud. The common man was much wiser than the philosophers, more open to the inspiration of nature and sentiment, and the real believer never felt solitary. The anchorite in the desert was perfectly happy, for a good angel watched over him and he felt himself made for immortality. Church bells spoke to the heart; vestments, ornaments and incense appealed to his sense of beauty and stirred his religious emotions. Church festivals were a joy, and prayers for the dead encouraged hopes of reunion. All races and religions had practised some form of cult of the dead and paid them honour by erecting tombs. In St. Denis he had shed tears amid the monuments of the kings of France.

The panoramic survey of Christianity closes with a poem to the hierarchy and the clergy and the marvellous organization of which they formed part, the finest achievement in the history of institutions. "When nations become civilized the Bishops reap the reward of the good they have done to mankind, above all in the maintenance of morality, works of charity, and the progress of literature. Their palaces became the centre of polite manners and the arts, and their talents aroused the admiration of Europe. In France they had always been models of moderation and enlightenment. There had been some exceptions, but recently over 60 had sought refuge in Protestant countries where they had won respect and veneration, the disciples of Luther and Calvin coming to hear the exiles preach the love of humanity and forgiveness of sins. The lower clergy were equally admirable; to them was due what survived of good morals in town and countryside. The peasant without religion is a wild beast without self-control, education or respect. His cramped life has embittered him, poverty has

destroyed the innocence of primitive men; he is timid, coarse, suspicious, miserly, ungrateful. Yet by a striking miracle this man, perverse by nature, becomes excellent in religious hands. Where he was cowardly he becomes brave, his instinctive treachery turns into utter fidelity, his ingratitude into boundless devotion, his mistrust into absolute confidence. Contrast the impious peasants, profaning the churches, wrecking property, burning women, children and priest over a slow fire, with the Vendéans defending the cult of their fathers, the only free men when France lay prostrate under the Terror, and you will see the difference which religion makes. What are the prejudices and the ignorance of the *curés* in comparison with their simplicity of heart and saintliness of life, their evangelical poverty, their Christian charity, which make them one of the worthiest elements of the nation? Many of them seem less men than beneficent spirits descending to earth to comfort the miserable. Often they refuse bread in order to feed the necessitous and part with their garments to clothe the penniless. Who among us proud philanthropists would be awakened in the middle of a winter night to minister to someone dying on a bed of straw? Which of us would wish to have perpetually before his eyes the spectacle of misery which he cannot succour or live surrounded by sunken cheeks and hollow eyes which tell of hunger and uttermost need? Would we follow the Paris *curés*, those angels of humanity to scenes of crime and grief and vice, shedding hope in despairing hearts? Which of us would be ready to turn his back on the world of happiness, spend his whole life among the suffering, to receive ingratitude from the poor and calumny from the rich?

Passing to the regular clergy, Chateaubriand pronounces that the monastic orders are still needed for the care of orphans, the relief of the poor and unfortunate, as a retreat for solitary souls, to minister to the maladies of the heart as spas aid the maladies of the body. Think of the monks of Bernard succouring travellers lost in the snow, of their labours in hospitals, their crusade against slavery, their visits to prisons, the spiritual comfort they administer at the foot of the scaffold, their missions to China. The rigours of La Trappe are praised as a school of morals instituted amid the pleasures of the century, models of penitence in the midst of vice and prosperity. What a lesson for man is the spectacle of the dying Trappist lying on straw and cinders in the sanctuary surrounded by his silent brethren, calling them to virtue while the bell tolled for his approaching departure! Usually the living console the dying, here the dying man at the gates of eternity calls them to penitence while he himself, despite his holiness, remains in doubt as to his salvation.

G. P. GOOCH

## THE NOBEL PRIZE RECONSIDERED

ON December 10 the Nobel Prizes will be awarded for the 59th time. As the founder specified in his will, the distinction will be conferred on "those persons who shall have contributed most materially to the benefit of mankind" in the fields of physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, literature and peace." He chose these fields because he believed them potentially most likely to attain his purpose, the permanent prevention of war. But since 1895, when the will was written, our ideas about benefiting humanity have expanded. We have found that what ails man is not his body alone, and that mere physical and intellectual supremacy cannot becalm him. Alfred Bernhard Nobel's vision of lasting peace can now be more directly approached and easier to realize through the answers promised by the maturing realm of psychology and the re-examination of the ancient and broad sphere of art. Because of the new significance of these two fields the time is now ripe to revise the will so that it would admit them to the awards. He wrote his will vaguely, without the aid of a lawyer, and its execution was difficult. A posthumous interpretation took the form of a Code of Statutes given by the King of Sweden on June 29, 1900. This somewhat free exegesis makes possible the thought of further amendment.

Nobel listed those who are to award the prizes: representatives of the Swedish Academy of Science, the Caroline Medico-Surgical Institute, the Swedish Academy, and the Norwegian Parliament. The Statutes added that the proposals for the nominees must come from past Nobel Prize winners, holders of professorial chairs in countries and universities selected by the prize-awarding institutions, members of the Academies of France and Spain, and members of foreign parliaments. The will directs that the awards be given for contributions "during the year immediately preceding". This has rarely been followed. Dr. Cherenkov discovered the effect named after him in 1934, and Dr. Sanger's work on the structure of proteins was made known in 1952; both were awarded the Nobel Prize in 1958. The frequent division of the prize into two or three parts and the awarding to institutions instead of one specific person are also departures from the exact wording of the will. What is more, Nobel implied that the prize should be a financial assistance to those who needed it for further work, "the young dreamers", as he said. In practice, the large amount of money (each prize section in 1958 was about 215,000 Swedish crowns or £14,760) almost always goes to people of established repute and well past their most productive years. There are few exceptions: Dr. C. N. Yang was 35 when he shared the 1957 prize in physics with 31-year-old Dr. T. D. Lee. In the same year M. Camus received the prize in literature at the age of 44, and Eugene O'Neill became the laureate at 48 in 1936.

The obverse and most remarkable side of the intrepid inventor admits of no doubt that were Nobel alive today he would perceive how much in line with his purpose are the claims made by psychology and art. Here was a lyrist and keen though timid disciple of the pacifistic Shelley, a versatile



and intellectually inquisitive man who tirelessly conjured up schemes for a perfect society. Paradoxically, Nobel thought that the hope of permanent peace lay in his most destructive inventions. "My factories may end war sooner than your congresses. The day when two army corps will be able to destroy each other in one second all civilized nations will recoil from war in horror and disband their armies," he said to his friend, the pacifist Bertha von Suttner. With the years his chief idea remained firm, though his designs changed from international tribunals to compulsory armistices and collective defence.

The measures toward peace advanced by Nobel appear ineffective, if not naïve, after two world wars made insignificant by a looming third disaster; the methods are deceptive because they do not take into account the spiritual malignancy of the peoples. In 1935 a Committee on War Prophylaxis formed by The Netherlands Medical Society issued a declaration of The Netherlands Psychiatrists, signed by Psychiatrists of over 30 other countries. This in effect contends: "Civilized twentieth century man still possesses strong, fierce and destructive instincts, which have not been sublimated . . . The unconscious desire to give rein to the primitive instinct, not only without punishment but even with reward, furthers in great measure the preparedness of war. It should be realized that the fighting instinct, if well directed, gives energy for much that is good and beautiful . . . these powerful instincts being the strongest allies for the elimination of war."

The most important fields of activity have now accepted psychology as *primus inter pares*. In an increasing number of hospitals research is being done by the co-operative work of psychiatrists and internists on the identification and relation of the psychological factors contributing to somatic disease. Doctors Jelliffe and White have already shown the importance of environmental and emotional influences on the diseases of the nervous system. Similar research is carried on in the diseases of the heart, the digestive organs, tuberculosis and others. Certainly Freud deserved Nobel's tribute. Freud was the first to wire the reluctant ear of man for the clamour of his incendiary Unconscious, first to relate this psychic energy for indiscriminate destruction to the instinct associated with love. And later, the work of Alfred Adler merited the prize—his psychological system has paved the way for social science. Certainly, too, the import and abundance of today's research in psychology will yield to the authorities who make the choice a number of people worthy of the Nobel Prize.

Nobel would not be blind to the only untried, though the most natural way of averting a cataclysm, the understanding and education of the soul of humanity, for so long a dwarf companion to its body. The understanding is done by psychology, and there is every reason to believe that art can do the educating. The traditional service of art has been to reflect the prevailing religion, myth, philosophy, economy, even politics. Its deeper purpose was revealed when the aesthetic process became a psychological problem and the forces activating it were shown as psychological phenomena. The artist, whether in literature, music, painting, sculpture or

architecture, shows one aspect of universal truth. He elaborates his destructive inner conflicts and raises them to a higher level to make them more palatable. The reader, listener or viewer unconsciously recognizes the prohibited sources as his own, but in this detached state they give him enjoyment and in turn sublimate what is dangerous in *him*. This is the sublimation for which the psychiatrists of 1935 and their followers call the redirection and channelling of the seething waters of man's aggressive drives into calm bays of creative peace.

But the services of art are now even more immediate, more tangible; to this the efforts of Le Corbusier bear witness. As writer, sculptor, painter, but chiefly as architect, he is attempting to bring peace to man by putting him in harmony with nature. He has evolved "The Modulor", a harmonic range of dimensions to the human scale, of which Einstein said: "It . . . makes the bad difficult and the good easy." He devised a law of the seven ways which brings order into urban chaos, separates man from the machine, and makes him at the same time master of it. He planned cities (notably Chandigarh, capital of Punjab, India) where life can be conducted in maximum comfort, with the least social distinctions and in peaceful and natural surroundings. And he designed sanctuaries of grandeur and simplicity, which recover the man-nature-cosmos relationship and stir the deepest human emotions. Implicit in the use of and response to all of Le Corbusier's work is that joy which combats destruction, and this work lays a claim to the Nobel Prize.

In a nebulous will Nobel simply indicated his foremost aim, and the efforts of his life make that aim clear. But that world extermination cannot be prevented by bigger and better ballistic missiles he would not now fail to see. Since he left the elaboration of the will to posterity, a reconsideration is now fitting so that it may include psychology (psychiatry and psychoanalysis) in the field of medicine, and place literature under the more comprehensive designation of art. A revision of this kind would conform with his character and his intention to reward the most significant and effective activities striving to benefit mankind and ensure its survival.

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### IRAQ'S DILEMMA

**W**HEN General Kassem seized power in July, 1958, and established a military dictatorship his main aim was to bring political and economic stability to Iraq and to keep the country aloft from foreign influence. Unfortunately, he has only been partly successful, and the attempted assassination of him on October 7 proves that he has failed to eliminate his political conspirators, with the result that the general

political situation in the country can best be described as precarious.

Throughout its period of office the hardest task that has faced the Kassem régime is to avoid Iraq from falling under the wings of either the United Arab Republic or the Communists. It was General Kassem's endeavour to prevent the former that caused a split between Colonel Arif, the Deputy Prime Minister, and himself soon after the revolution of July, 1958. Colonel Arif wanted a merger with the United Arab Republic and forced a number of issues which the Government as a whole wanted left alone. Although both men received strong support, Colonel Arif was removed from his post in September, 1958, and after his return from Europe he was tried and sentenced to death, with a recommendation of mercy, for the attempted assassination of the Prime Minister. It is possible that he was framed as the Communists were his worst enemies and they celebrated his arrest.

Nevertheless, his removal did not prevent the pro-United Arab Republic elements from continuing their campaign which eventually led to an abortive Mosul rebellion in March. The Mosul rebels received arms and radio equipment from the U.A.R. for Colonel Nasser undoubtedly saw it as the first major chance of absorbing Iraq into U.A.R. However, the rebellion was a failure, partly because it was confined to a small sector of the population which was inefficient in its operation and partly because the Government was forewarned and was able to act before the mass of the population was involved.

The danger of Iraq being dominated by Cairo has been, and still is, only slight compared with the Communist influence which has established a strong foothold in the country. Ever since July, 1958, the Communists have been trying to participate in the Government, and solely for this reason they supported General Kassem during the early months of the régime. He, too, relied on Communist support mainly as a safeguard against the U.A.R. At the end of April the Iraqi Communist Party came into the open, declaring itself as the party of the working class and demanded some participation in the Government. General Kassem rejected this demand, which caused the Communists to withdraw their support for him and take decisive steps to gain political control. Thus, the I.C.P. resorted to violence during the celebrations of the first anniversary of the Revolution in July. But once again the Government acted promptly in curbing the violence and afterwards dissolved the so-called "unofficial Committees" for guarding the interests of the Republic, which were composed of Government officials who were Communist sympathizers. It was this outbreak of violence in July that made General Kassem aware of the real dangers of Communism.

Although the Government has taken the necessary measures to counteract the spread of Communism, the Communists' influence in Iraq has by no means been eliminated, as in the past few months it has succeeded in penetrating almost every branch of public life. Since the Mosul rebellion they have attempted to infiltrate the army and have tried to gain control over the labour force through exerting greater control over the trade unions

by which means they aimed at controlling industry, the railways and airways. Moreover, they exploited every minor setback the country experienced and controlled the purge committees of Government departments, professional, student and peasant associations as well as the army-trained militia known as the Popular Resistance Forces. Therefore they had acquired the means to regulate the country's intellectual and professional life, and were even able to influence the People's Court which had been trying the enemies of the régime.

Education had completely fallen under Communist influence. The League for the Defence of Women's Rights, which was concerned with early childhood, was one of the most militant of the Communist front organizations, and along with the Teachers' Association and the Students' Union acted as a guardian of political doctrine. Together with the Ministry of Education these organizations are responsible for planning the country's educational policy. The teachers have, however, become increasingly under the influence of the students, who are a revolutionary body.

Furthermore, alleged Communists have handled the State censorship, propaganda and broadcasting, while many Government pronouncements on the radio have often been accompanied by a conflicting comment of Communist tone. Apart from being allowed to broadcast, the Communist front organizations have maintained vigorous publications, while anti-Communist journals were destroyed; and the only foreign news-agencies allowed to operate in Iraq were Soviet and Chinese.

The Communists were, therefore, able to exert a profound and continuous influence over the general population, and this led to the holding of mass meetings and demonstrations. A number of demands were made, some of which were in the interests of Soviet policy. These included condemning the nuclear tests, the Baghdad Pact and American bilateral agreements in the area, and for extending the Popular Resistance Forces. Other demands were for executing political sentences of death, for severity against plotters, the permanent arming of P.R.F. together with more thorough purges which would in effect place the administration and army in their hands. They displayed hostility towards the West, the Baghdad Pact Powers and more recently towards the U.A.R.

As a result of the measures taken by the Iraq Government to prevent the local Communists from obtaining any degree of political control the Iraq Communist Party is now on the defensive, but it is not retreating. It has acquired several channels through which it can not only continue its activities, but also increase them. Its front organizations have penetrated the sectional associations and have infiltrated some of the weaker parties, such as the Free Democrats, the Kurdish Democrats and the National Liberation Front. Thus it has obtained such a strong foothold that it is likely to continue to remain General Kassem's most dangerous political obstacle.

Although he is now aware of this danger, his relationship with Russia is indeed cordial. Some 500 advisers from the Soviet bloc are acting as consultants in most branches of Iraq's economy, while the Iraqi Army is

being trained by Russian officers and equipped with Russian material. In addition a number of economic and cultural agreements have been concluded between the two countries in the past year. It is, therefore, apparent that he has turned more towards the East than the West, although relations with the latter have recently improved.

Against Iraq's shaky political background, the economic position is very unstable. The cost of living has risen by 20 per cent in the past few months because of shortages and the rise of price in food. Unemployment is high despite efforts to counteract it. Yet Iraq has an annual income of \$240 million from oil and a prosperous agricultural economy. The reasons for the present state of the economy are due mainly to the mismanagement of the régime.

The land reform has proved more of an economic burden than an asset partly because of mismanagement and partly because the Communists inspired the peasants to move in on their landlords. The result was that much of the fertile land was left uncultivated. This entailed importing large quantities of wheat and barley from Canada, Australia and Russia. Although order has been recently restored on the land, it will be some time before the damage to the national economy is repaired. A further burden to the economy is the \$150 million arms deal with Russia. However, the vital question is whether General Kassem will be able to carry out his promise to restore the freedom of political parties by January 6 next year, which is Army Day, and hold elections later in the year. If this is carried out under prevailing political conditions it will mean a severe political battle between the Communists and the nationalists, and whoever wins will decide whether Iraq will be dominated by Moscow or Cairo. Unless there is a radical improvement in the political situation in the meantime either a directly or indirectly military government will have to continue to rule in order to ensure Iraq's independence. Only when the political parties have become more matured and free from foreign influence will it be safe for General Kassem to relax his control.

E. H. RAWLINGS

## THE NORTHERN STATES OF INDIA

THE dispute between India and China over the exact boundary of India's Northern States, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and the North East Frontier Agency of Assam, centres in the definition of the McMahon Line between India and Tibet. This line was laid down after negotiations between the Government of India and representatives of the Government of China and Tibet in 1914. Although the Agreement was accepted by the Tibetan and Indian Governments, it was only initialled by the Chinese

representative. It was rejected by the Chinese Government, who refused to ratify it. Their objection was not to the McMahon Line frontier between India and Tibet, but to the proposed line of demarcation between Inner Tibet, which was under Chinese administration, and Outer Tibet, which was to be administered from Lhasa. In any case, the McMahon Line was accepted as a frontier by the authorities in control on either side of it. Having regard to geographical factors, the McMahon Line is the natural frontier. It has further become firmly established as such by custom and usage.

The Chinese Government now contend that the McMahon Line can no longer be regarded as absolute on the grounds that it was demarcated by the British Imperialists in India, and in view of the evacuation by the British, any arrangement made by them cannot now be considered as binding on the present Government. What China lost as the result of British pressure and what India gained as a result of British arms, must both be regarded as illegitimate. The above is the gist of the latest Note from Chou-en-Lai to the Indian Government.

Mr. Nehru has made repeated statements of India's fixed determination to defend the McMahon Line against Chinese aggression. He added that the defence of Sikkim and Bhutan is India's responsibility and that "India will fight if there is an invasion of these tiny States. They have treaty relations with India, and India is accountable for their defence."

During the last few months in 1959, Chinese troops have made repeated raids across the frontiers of the States and have captured several outposts occupied by Indian troops. Mr. Nehru's protests to Peking have met with but slight satisfaction, if indeed they have been answered. China, on the other hand, has accused India of encroaching into Chinese territory. So far, there does not appear to be any prospect of a large-scale invasion by the Chinese into the Northern States where the nature of the country, which consists for the most part of mountains and impenetrable jungles, would render the movements of large bodies of troops almost impossible, not to mention the difficulty of their supply.

There can be no doubt, however, that these States are gravely menaced by the motor roads which have been built by the women's labour corps from Lhasa to their frontiers, the establishment of airfields and large garrisons along these roads and the ceaseless flood of propaganda which is poured out day and night trying to persuade the people that they are all of the same family with the Tibetans and should return to the Communist fold as fellow countrymen. The natives, however, are not by any means enamoured of the doctrines of Marx. Devout Buddhists, for the most part, they have no use for Communism or for the Tibetan and Chinese soldiers who have penetrated into their regions, many of whom have been killed by local militia forces. The Northern States are ill-provided with armed forces, which consist of a few thousand militia armed with rifles and Sten guns. They have appealed to India for help, and some Indian troops have been sent to the frontier posts to train and organize the local militia. They will be withdrawn when the local troops are sufficiently



trained to take over their duties.

China does not at present appear willing to force any outright rupture with India. Mao's policy may be directed at diverting attention in China from the admitted shortcomings in the economic state of the country by pointing to the prospects of advantages to be gained in India. Maps have been published in China showing some thousands of miles of Indian territory as rightfully belonging to China. The Indian Ministry of External Affairs has riposted by issuing a political map showing the 2,500 mile border from North-West Kashmir to the tripartite junction of India, Burma and China. A statement with the map declares that the frontier is traditional and well known. It repudiates the Chinese claim to a 40,000 square mile area of Indian territory including a strip 800 miles long on the Kashmir-Tibet frontier.

Mao may be indulging in a "long-term policy" of "softening up" the people of India for Communist domination by compelling the Indian Government to expend large sums of money on defences, which would otherwise have been available for the furtherance of the new Five Year Plan. This might lead to riots and civil disturbance due to shortage of food supplies and low standard of living. India is compelled to import much of her food supply owing largely to the increasing rate of her population. Efforts at birth control are unlikely to meet with much success. Large families are regarded as a tribute to Vishnu, the second Person of the Hindu Trinity. Fifth Columns and Communist activity are rampant in many parts of India and are well organized. They would be especially active in fanning the flames of discontent into open rebellion.

The present uncertain conditions prevailing on the borders of the Northern States is causing serious apprehension in Indian Government circles, although the Chief of Staff has stated that he does not anticipate immediate danger of invasion from Tibet. Western opinion inclines to consider that Mr. Nehru's obstinate policy of strict neutrality which he displayed in so uncompromising a manner when he refused to accede to the appeals for assistance from Tibet when threatened with invasion, may, after all, have come home to roost. Had he condemned in no uncertain terms such invasion, it is thought that he might have staved off threats against his own country. The people of India are alarmed and angry: they now begin to realize the vast difference between threats to their own and to any other country.

That any invasion of the Northern States may preclude attack on India itself appears to be exercising the mind of the Indian General Staff, who are at present actively considering the establishment of a zone of defence posts south of the Northern States. They realize that Calcutta and other important centres of India would be at the mercy of Chinese planes from Gartok and the newly established airfields on the roads leading south to the Indian frontiers. Mr. Nehru has stated that he has no intention of taking Tibet to the United Nations, from which it would appear that in the event of India being invaded, he is fully confident of his own resources of defence without outside assistance.

H. E. CROCKER

## NATIVE DEMONSTRATIONS IN NATAL

THE Native problem in South Africa is fast approaching a crisis, but the majority of the Europeans in the Union are so out of touch with African opinion that they are blind to this fact. At a time when South Africa is undergoing a great industrial revolution, with attendant problems of shift of population to the towns, disintegration of tribal life, development of shanty towns and slums and impoverishment of the rural areas, it is necessary to have constant consultations with the African leaders and to understand their problems. But the Nationalist Party's policy of *Apartheid* is intended to do away with all contact between Black and White. The Government limits contact between European and African to the master-servant relationship, or else treats a Black man as a robot in a factory. One African woman cried bitterly: "The Government has forgotten that we are human beings," and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town stressed the same fact when he said that one cannot employ a man as a mere commodity. The trouble is primarily economic and it was the unbearable conditions under which the people live rather than any single grievance which led to the demonstrations at Cato Manor, the shanty town on the outskirts of Durban, and throughout the rural areas of Natal. Poor as the urban Natives are, they are better off than those in the rural areas. About one-third of the African people live in towns and this third possesses 60 per cent of the entire Native spending power. The recent demonstrations have revealed the dire poverty of some of the rural Africans. Women with four or five children have to live on what they can grow on their small-holdings, augmented by from £1-£2 a month which is as much as their husbands, who work in the towns, can send them. It is little wonder that the wards of the big Native hospital in Durban are crammed with children suffering from malnutrition and deficiency diseases. The reason why the women demonstrated is because they are affected by such things as low wages, influx control, the raising of the poll-tax from 25s. to 45s., the expansion of the pass system to women, who have to pay 3s. 6d. for each reference book, forced labour on dipping tanks, methods of soil conservation, the prohibition of home-brewing of beer and transport costs. There were many other grievances mentioned, but the chief appeared to be the rigid application of influx control. The rural Native is caught between two forces; bad economic conditions make it necessary for him to leave the rural areas to seek work, and influx control limits entry to the towns. In some cases he could get a job but he may not go to it.

Riots and demonstrations always take the White community by surprise, and as soon as there is an uneasy peace the Europeans forget about them. The Mayor of Durban told a Rhodesian audience, complacently, that the Cato Manor riots were merely part of the pattern of African nationalism; only about 15 per cent of the Natives in that area had been affected and the White community had not been disturbed. Mr. S. Bourquin, Durban's Director of Bantu Administration, took a more realistic view and made an urgent appeal for an increase in African wages. He said that the long list

of grievances was a contributory cause, but the basic reason was the poverty of the urban Bantu: "the discrepancy between his earning capacity and his cost of living; his inability to meet the demands of modern times in a city modelled on the western way of life; his inability even to meet the barest necessity of life, to feed, clothe, educate and house himself and his family." He urged the employers to pay the Africans a wage on which they could live as decent, law-abiding and progressive people.

Fear of the Native is so dominant that it poisons all aspects of our national life. Any improvement in the lot of the African is regarded as an attack on White privilege. The Minister of Bantu Education said recently that every law passed by the Nationalist Party had as its object the protection of the European in the social and economic spheres and the ensuring of the paramountcy of the White man in South Africa. The Nationalist Government was accused of "doing too much" for the Natives, but everything the Nationalist Party was doing for the Natives was in the interests of the Whites. Nationalist politicians cannot envisage a time when Europeans and Non-Europeans can live contentedly together as members of a plural society. They realize that White domination cannot be permanent and that an explosion is bound to occur, but they hope it will be after their time. Statesmen like Field-Marshal Smuts and Mr. John Foster Dulles warned South Africa of her possible fate. Shortly before his death Smuts said that if ever there was a community which was called upon by the world situation to be cautious, fair and human, to think on fundamental lines, it was South Africa. "This little community deserves something better than to be wiped out in the march of world events. That is possible if the Europeans do not rise to the mission that is theirs on the Dark Continent."

There is one hopeful feature which has not been sufficiently appreciated: South Africa is fortunate in having a number of outstanding African leaders, moderate men of wisdom and foresight, who can be relied upon to do their best to control the passions of their people. Ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, the President of the African National Congress, played a big part in restoring order in Natal. He sent out a "peace message" in over 200,000 pamphlets which were distributed throughout Natal by Congress members, urging the women to stop rioting and calling a meeting at which their grievances could be discussed. He could not take an active part in restraining the people because, by a recent Government order, he had been confined to the vicinity of his home and forbidden to attend public meetings for five years.

Over a thousand Non-Europeans, many of them rural Zulus in traditional dress, attended the "People's Conference" which was sponsored by both the Indian and the African Congresses. Ten years after the Durban riots when the Africans had attacked the Indians, their common sufferings under the *Apartheid* laws had brought about this solidarity between the two Non-European races. In my opinion, the resolutions passed at that meeting mark a new phase in race relations in the Union. Those present pledged themselves to carry forward the struggle begun by the women, but agreed that this struggle must be non-violent and within the framework of tried and

tested Congress methods. Speakers said that, although the Non-Europeans had no political power, they could so use their spending power and their labour power that South Africa would have to alter its policy. Much of Chief Luthuli's speech, which was read, was highly significant. He said that the women's demonstrations had taken the Congress by surprise and had been spontaneous, but this "liberation movement" was fast becoming a mass movement and that it was possible for the people, by the use of overwhelming peaceful pressure to win all their demands for freedom. He said: "Our task is to educate our people as to the efficacy of Congress methods of struggle. We do not preach the use of non-violent methods for the benefit of our enemies but for the benefit of our own people and for the ultimate benefit of our multi-racial society. Under our conditions in South Africa violent struggle would probably leave a legacy of bitterness which would render it difficult to establish a firm and stable multi-racial democracy in the future."

All is quiet at Cato Manor and the women who demonstrated in the rural areas have gone back to their huts in the kraals, but the causes of the rioting still remain and the jails are filled with the ring-leaders. About 600 women have been jailed and the fines paid totalled about £13,000. The Government has refused to hold an inquiry into the causes of the riots. Mr. M. C. de Wet Nel, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and Dr. Eiselen, the Secretary for Bantu Administration, came to Durban and decided that the demonstrators had been inflamed by agitators and that it would teach the Africans a lesson if whole tribes were held responsible for the damage done and were forced to repair it.

Great efforts are being made to speed up the housing schemes and to move the Natives to the new Native township of Kwa Mashu but, as Durban M.P.s have repeatedly pointed out, it is difficult to do much so long as the Government refuses to realize that Durban has a large community of detribalized Natives who can never be re-tribalized, and it is useless to pretend that their residence in urban areas is only temporary. Efforts have been made to redress some of their grievances; beer may now be brewed for home consumption, for example, but most of them are the result of Government legislation and cannot be relieved. The Durban Corporation and many private shops and factories have responded to Mr. Bourquin's appeal for an increase in Native wages. The South African Institute of Race Relations has put forward proposals for relieving African poverty. It suggests that the Wage Board, which determines the minimum income of African labourers, should be decentralized, and all determinations should be regularly reviewed. The Board, which is at present investigating Durban, found that a weekly wage of £2 2s. 6d. had been static for 14 years, although the cost of living had risen enormously and taxation had been raised by over 75 per cent. It recommended that the wage determination for unskilled labour should be the universal minimum applicable to all enterprise in the area. The future of race relations in South Africa appears to be grim, but so long as the moderate leaders remain in power there are grounds for hope.

Durban

ESTHER ROBERTS

## BUTTER AND ITS HISTORY

**B**UTTER was one of man's earliest foods and it remains one of the most valued throughout the world. With the cream from 18 pints of quality milk still needed to make a single pound of butter, it stands very high as a natural health-giving food. Ever since man ceased to be purely a hunter and became a herdsman keeping milk-producing animals, butter has been an important item in his diet. In the very earliest times butter was highly esteemed, since only small quantities were made. So highly, in fact, that it was frequently used as a sacrifice to ancient pagan gods. Such a use is described in the Hindu Vedas written between 2000 and 1400 B.C., though the practice was known many centuries before that. To this day Hindu rulers are anointed with butter instead of oil. Butter was also melted and used in altar lamps, as by the early Christians in Egypt, while the Romans valued its medicinal properties as an ointment.

The first herdsmen were nomads, always on the move, and they carried their liquids in skin bags. Butter-making was probably discovered by accident through the agitation of such bags containing fresh milk carried for a long journey on the back of horses or camels. Once the initial discovery had been made that cream or milk jolted about like this turns into little granulated blobs of tasty yellow butter, dairying as we know it today had dawned. The herdsmen set about deliberately making butter, first by putting milk into earthenware jars and beating it by hand, then by devising crude churns from hollow logs with sealed-up ends that were suspended by ropes between two trees, and when filled with milk were swung back and forth. Other primitive churns that followed included boxes or leather bags swung or shaken when hung on a post or tent. Eventually, it was found that less churning was needed if only the cream was used, and so began the technique of skimming the cream off milk. At first this was done by setting fresh milk in shallow pans and after 12-24 hours' standing removing the cream on the top with a ladle.

The use of cream alone greatly reduced the volume of liquid to be agitated in the churn, and so more butter could be produced by less effort. A parallel development at this stage was the simple barrel-churn, still seen to this day on small farms in many countries. These hand-turned churns later gave place to mechanically-driven models, but the basic principle of butter-making has remained unaltered for probably 5,000 years. Until late in the nineteenth century butter-making was a small-scale farm job, carried out efficiently but laboriously, without undue regard for hygiene or quality. Nevertheless the early respect for this magic yellow foodstuff had in no way diminished: it was recognized as a perfect gift, even in the smallest quantities, up to almost a century ago.

In the Middle Ages butter was used chiefly for cooking. It was sold freely in the streets: a coarse, rancid, sometimes even half-melted substance, notorious for its laxative properties, thought to be good for "growing pains" and rheumatism, and always salted away in the summer for subsequent winter use. The only method of keeping butter in quantity that was then

known was the one of salting it heavily, and storing it buried in the ground in stout wooden chests. Really fresh, palatable butter ideal for table or cooking equally, is a product of the last hundred years or less. Before that the quality was always variable, often suspect. Poor people continually charged the butter-makers with excessive adulteration with water, pig-fat and other things. In London the old practice of keeping as much water in the butter as it would hold was widespread and much complained of; it was not uncommon for the water content of butter sold in the streets and markets to be as high as a third. (The legal maximum water content in Britain now is 16 per cent.) Buttermen were full of tricks and sometimes managed to make profits as high as a hundred per cent. Butter was sold loose from the block, sometimes shaped like a millstone, from the yard-long flat baskets by length, by the pint, by the quite large pat, seldom by weight and never wrapped as it is today.

Then, after the middle of the last century and within a few years of one another, came the twin discoveries that revolutionized dairying the world over. In 1870 there appeared the centrifugal separator for milk. This did away with the need for the lengthy hand-skimming of milk in shallow pans, and so made possible the handling of large quantities of cream at a time. Soon after, in 1873, the first practical refrigerating machine was invented. This meant that enormous quantities of butter could be made and kept indefinitely until required—without salting. Within a decade or so butter-making had become a factory process. The old barrel-churns, now turned as often by steam-engine, water-power, horse and even dog as by hand, gave place to large steam-driven mechanical churns. As refrigeration technique improved, there began the rise of dairying in New Zealand and Australia, since those lands could now send their butter to Europe without fear of it going rancid on the long journey. In 1882 the first co-operative dairy was opened in Denmark, and soon, too, that country became world-famous for its well-flavoured butter.

Nowadays, most of the world production of butter is factory made, and is churned in gigantic cylinders of teak and polished steel. These are called internal worked churns, being fitted with running trollies to remove the vast mass of finished butter, and glass windows on the door in front through which the process can be watched. Running at top, electrically-driven speed for 30-40 minutes, they make an average of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  tons, or a hundred boxes, of butter at a single churning. Many countries other than those famed for dairying now produce all their own butter needs, but British and Eire farmers concentrate on liquid milk supplies and so produce between them only about 15 per cent of British requirements. The remainder comes from New Zealand (43 per cent), Australia (nine per cent), Denmark (33 per cent) approximately, but the exact quantities vary year by year and are sometimes augmented by small supplies from Poland, Norway, Sweden and Holland, also countries with healthy butter exports.

All these individual butters have their particular qualities and flavours derived from manufacturing processes and the type of milk used. Thus, the Danes have always concentrated on a strong-flavoured, often rather



salty butter, known to dairymen as ripened cream butter. This means that, after pasteurization (a universal preliminary to modern butter-making), Danish cream has a lactic acid culture added to it which partially sours it and increases the delicate, volatile flavours, ensuring that these are prominent in the finished butter. Danish butter is therefore always fuller-flavoured than that from Australia or New Zealand, and it is rather softer in texture. In those two countries the buttermen do not first ripen their cream, making instead a sweet cream butter by controlling the lactic acid naturally present in the cream directly it reaches the butter factory. Their butters are also firm in texture and more subtle in flavour than the Danish product. They are also a brighter yellow because the Jersey cows used (famous for the high colour of the butterfat in their milk) are able to graze on their pastures all the year round, unlike their European counterparts.

Butter must by a fairly general law contain at least 80 per cent fat and a certain amount of casein. It must also not contain more than about two per cent of salt. It is the most easily digested of all the edible fats, in sickness or in health, and is a natural source of vitamins A and D. Great care is taken to produce an acceptable colour, body, texture, waxiness and sheen. Indeed, modern butter-making is a specialized art, governed by strict rules. After the selection of the finest suitable cream, the two key points for the butter-maker of today are the control of the water content at the final stages of the churning process and the addition of high quality, finely-sifted salt when the butter granules reach the size of peas. Most butter requires some added salt—it would be insipid otherwise—and the amount used determines taste, market value and keeping qualities.

With so much care lavished upon its manufacture, butter deserves to be treated properly in the home after purchase. With a really safe shelf life of only a fortnight or less, except in very cold weather, butter keeps best in a refrigerator, preferably well wrapped in an opaque covering, and isolated from strong-smelling foodstuffs like fish, cheese and onions. Light reduces the vitamin D content, and a warm atmosphere shortens the keeping period, so all butter should be kept dark and cool. Butter taken from a cold place needs a few minutes in a warm room to bring out its full flavour and aroma again. Only small quantities of table butter, enough for each meal, should be put out in the butter-dish, the best type of which is the old-fashioned covered one.

Given the choice between guns or butter, man will always plump finally for butter, and its health-giving properties have been recognized in all ages. As the old Dutch proverb has it:

Eat butter first, and eat it last,  
And live till a hundred years be past.

For as Douglas Jerrold said a century ago: "Honest bread is very well—it's the butter that make the temptation." Only here the temptation is rewarded with delight and unrivalled nourishment.

CLIVE BEECH

## THE CENTENARY OF FRANCIS THOMPSON

**F**RANCIS JOSEPH THOMPSON was born in Preston on December 16, 1859. His father, a dedicated general practitioner, was a convert to the Roman Catholic Church and two of his aunts were nuns. His mother had once been a postulant at a convent of the Holy Child. Something has been written of the lack of understanding in his family circle, but these brief biographical facts support the boy's own admission that his family had, though not wittingly, fostered his vocation, that the spirit of his poems was "no mere medieval imitation, but the natural temper of my Catholic training in a simple provincial home."

Something, too, has been written about Thompson's unhappiness as a clerical student at Ushaw and the degradation of his life as a tramp in the slush and fog of London's streets. American critics have described him as a "bum" and "the poet of sin". But there is evidence to show that his descriptions of his suffering in both places were largely the reflections of later years. Nature has her own anodynes, and he was not always so conscious as he thought. I am not competent, nor would I particularly care, to attempt a psychiatric analysis of Thompson's temperament. As a boy travelling to college, his jam tarts were inevitably crushed in his pocket, while towards the end of his life (when an umbrella fell on him in a railway train) he exclaimed tremulously: "I am the target of every misfortune!" From school-days onward, he was forever scorching his trousers against the fire; and a psychiatrist might reasonably deduce from this not merely a phthysical sufferer's need of warmth, but a soul's need of love. He failed to succeed as a priest, a doctor, a soldier, a book-seller's messenger, even as a seller of matches in the gutter. In his essay on Shelley, which by a typical series of Thompsonian mischances was not published till after his death, he wrote that Shelley never became a man, because he had never been a boy. And, truly, because Thompson had never been able to become a boy like other boys, he was never able to become a man like other men. His inefficiency in the common daily round very likely originated from the spiritual bruising he received on the day when, as a "new cod", he had been swung into a whin-bush by the two school-mates deputed to carry out this traditional rite of initiation. He retreated within himself, intending to love, but never expecting to be loved. Some men have thinner envelopes than others and feel all the barbs of St. Sebastian. Only a few years after Thompson's death a much younger poet, Wilfred Owen, seared by the flames of the Western Front, was to write that "foreheads of men have bled where no wounds were."

At no age did Thompson become wholly assimilated to his kind; but, unlike his fellow-centenarian, A. E. Housman, his spirit never became arid and defiant, nor, like Housman, did he ever complain that he was alone and afraid "in a world I never made". A certain proud integrity left him untainted by the "swine-trough hoggery" which he found in the doss-houses, under the arches and on the benches of the Thames Embankment where he faced "the abashless inquisition of each star"; and a strong

sense of the holiness of privacy brusquely rebuffed those who enquired as to the state of his soul and his lungs. This inwardness, this consciousness of the evil and hostility of his time (however exaggerated by over-sensitiveness and a slight effort at self-apology) helped the projection of his poetic talent into the mystical. One positive impulse he received at Ushaw. Despite his talk of persecution there by the murky, aboriginal beast in man, the nightly devotions in May at the altar of the Mother of God gave a definite orientation to his natural sweetness and his need to love. They set a seal on him as they have on generations of Ushawmen. Much of Thompson's verse is devoted to Her and to the transcendental Eve in all womanhood. And, in this development, the motherly and sisterly relationship with his fellow-poet Alice Meynell, wife of his rescuer, played its part. That the chaste Thompson could write of "whitest witchery, a-lurk in that authentic cestus of two girdling arms" surprises only those who are (like St. Teresa of Avila for a while) puzzled that Holy Writ contains *The Song of Solomon*. He made no "tryst with the sensualist" though, as his biographer, Everard Meynell, has recorded, his life was a series of broken trysts. He was a cricket enthusiast who rarely managed to get to Lord's, a Catholic who often arrived late or not at all at Sunday Mass (despite the inscribed pages from penny exercise books with which he placarded his room—"At the Last Trump thou wilt arise betimes!" and the like), a reviewer whose copy was wont to arrive a day late. His temporary addiction to laudanum may, after his failure at Ushaw, be accounted his most abiding grief and the real source of his contrite heart, but he took it as many now take a "tranquillizer", and in his day it was a specific treatment for pulmonary tuberculosis and kept him alive.

I think that Thompson is not much read nowadays except for "The Hound of Heaven", which is commonly separated from the body of his work. Two world wars separate us from him, and within a few years of his death poets' language had become taut, realistic and restricted in object. The sentimentality of "*Ex Ore Infantium*", of the prostitute who found, sheltered and fed him for a while, are not in tune with the times, nor are his magniloquence, his use of archaic and invented words. Poets now wear collars and pressed trousers and are men of business. Of his prose, I believe, moderns are entirely ignorant. You will look far for copies of *The Life of St. Ignatius* and *Health and Holiness*, while some of his essays and critiques in the *Academy* and *Athenæum* might surely be reprinted. Even his letters contain much noble prose, passages of human and mystical insight.

"Mysticism," he wrote, "is morality carried to the *n*th power." "There is one reason," he wrote again, "for human confusion which is nearly always ignored. The world—the universe—is a fallen world . . . That *should* be precisely the function of poetry—to see and restore the Divine idea of things, freed from the disfiguring accidents of their Fall . . ." In this his thought is consonant with that of St. John of the Cross. God is "the All": created things are *poco mas que nada*. God is not really revealed in or by things, but they in Him for their reality is only a

participation of His. Man, said Thompson, is "the swinging wicket set between the seen and th' unseen" and Thompson worked back from the unseen to the seen. The master Vision includes all the lesser visions. It is we, who only see the "seen", who cannot or will not hear the beating of ineffable pinions at "our own clay-shuttered doors". It is we, with our "estrangéd faces, that miss the many-splendoured thing."

JOHN QUINLAN

### WASHINGTON IRVING

IN a year which remembers such a mixed bag of writers as Burns, Housman, Mistral, Conan Doyle, Leigh Hunt, De Quincey and Francis Thompson, one may well ask if there is room for a romantic New Yorker who died just a century ago. Yet if Washington Irving is a classic of the schoolroom he has more serious claims to consideration. His was the first real literary talent produced by America (and American humour properly begins with him), he successfully established literary relations with England and Europe, and he was an ambassador in a sense that the later Henry James was not.

Irving, who after comparatively little schooling made a brief dalliance with law, had neither a New England solemnity nor the dourness of his Orkney Islander parents. Nor was he averse to adventure. Before he was 23 he had spent two years in Europe—he was captured by Mediterranean pirates, he wandered through brigand-infested mountains in Italy, he carried a letter from the Governor of Malta, he was introduced into the patrician houses of Naples, Florence and Rome, where he met Madame de Staël, Canova and Humboldt, and he dallied with the painters in Paris. Back in New York, he began writing satire under the name of Jonathan Oldstyle. He was born for the pleasures of the town. Yet a paradoxical streak ran through him, for if he was man of fashion and theatre-goer, roisterer and diner-out, he was at the same time imbued with a love of history and antiquities. Thus it came about that he wrote his *History of New York*, presented through the eyes of Dietrich Knickerbocker, a dotting antiquarian. It began as a parody of a pedantic guide-book to New York, but it became a burlesque, lampooning the city's life and manners and the burgher aristocracy of Dutch descent. Coleridge took the book to bed with him, Byron delighted in it, and Scott wrote to Irving acclaiming him already a master. An American critic has since described it as "a masterpiece of learned spoofing".

Suffering from a spiritual malaise after the death of his *fiancée*, Irving, with a vague interest in the family business, which had an office in Liverpool, drifted over to England as the Battle of Waterloo was being fought. He spent little time in Liverpool, however, for his brother's business there

failed shortly after his arrival. There followed a period of wandering in those parts of the country which drew him most, those associated with Shakespeare, Burns and Scott, and he stayed with Scott at Abbotsford. In London he followed in the footsteps of Oliver Goldsmith, he browsed in Westminster, Smithfield, Southwark and Old Jewry, and he turned over mouldering volumes in old libraries. He kept a Turneresque journal and even painted and sketched. The period was one which revived the cult of the medieval and the "oldy-worldy". Thus the time was ripe for Irving, and Scott had even prepared the ground. He had already made effective use of American legend and background for his earlier *belles-lettres*, and now, perhaps scenting out the substantial potential market, he turned to the English scene.

The *Sketch Book* thus made a timely appearance, first in America, where it gave a fillip to Anglo-American relations, and then over here. It is not difficult to see the popular appeal of this slice of Old England—the stage-coach, the country churches, the old-fashioned Christmas, such old inns as the Boar's Head in Eastcheap, Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey, Shakespeare's Stratford and the rest. The entire traditional pattern was here, and the Christmas scenes were both classic and nostalgic—the Yule log, the wassail bowl, the boar's head crowned with rosemary, the Waits, the Morris dancers, the carols, the mummers, the sword dance, the harpist, the lot. It is, of course, easy to condemn the book as a false picture, as a cosseted and sentimental gentleman's bird's-eye view, portraying a Britain of at least half a century earlier and ignoring a Britain that was then midway through the most far-reaching social transformation in her entire history. Indeed, such a charge was soon brought—by Hazlitt, who, in a shrewd comparison of Lamb's *Essays of Elia* and the *Sketch Book*, made the accusation that Irving was still living, spiritually, in the time of the *Spectator* and Sir Roger de Coverley. But did it really matter? The appeal of the *Sketch Book* lay not merely in its contents but also in its musical style and quiet humour. It was, in fact, a model of English prose, and for almost a century it was used as a first reader for students of the English language all over the world. Moreover, the account of a visit to Stratford was declared to be "the best bit of Shakespeariana ever penned." Altogether quite an achievement for a young New Yorker who came over here to manage a hardware, wine and sugar business.

The *Sketch Book* was quickly followed by *Bracebridge Hall*, a portrait of bucolic manners and joys to which no doubt Hazlitt's remarks equally applied. Indeed one wonders that Irving saw nothing of the rural England of Hammond's *The English Labourer*; if he did, he ignored it, for he was sensitive and subject to moods of melancholy. And, quite obviously, had he painted a picture of rural depression he would not have written a best-seller. The *Sketch Book*, however, contained stories that were not of English provenance, and among them were *Rip Van Winkle* and *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*. Most improbably (and this must come as a shock to many), these and other pieces were written in industrial Birmingham, in the home of Irving's sister and his brother-in-law, Henry Van Wart,

an American who had sought British naturalization and was then a prosperous merchant and city alderman. Irving was a frequent visitor there, and the classic tales of the Catskill ne'er-do-well and the haunted region of Sleepy Hollow were born of the reminiscences of the two men when recalling their boyhood days on the banks of the Hudson. Aston Hall, on the edge of Birmingham, is said (though with less certainty) to be the prototype of *Bracebridge Hall*. There are conflicting versions of the origins of these works, and one account maintains that the story of Rip Van Winkle was born on Westminster Bridge. Elihu Burrit, the American Consul, writer and lecturer, who lived near Birmingham in the middle of last century, has, however, recorded his conversations with Henry Van Wart, who made it clear that Rip Van Winkle at least was conceived and written in Birmingham. Van Wart's great-granddaughter, still living in this country, has recently stated that the carol singers described in *Old Christmas* included Van Wart himself.

Irving now went gallivanting again. He was fêted in Paris and Germany, where he was thrown among kings and ambassadors and learned some of the diplomatic ropes which were later to stand him in good stead, and, of course, in London, where he met many of the celebrities of the day, mostly in John Murray's drawing room. After writing some unsuccessful plays and abandoning projected biographies of Napoleon and Byron, he turned now to the Spanish scene. With an equally sure felicity of touch he wrote *The Life and Voyages of Columbus*, *The Conquest of Granada* and *The Alhambra*. He was privileged, for he lived in the Alhambra for one whole enchanted summer, the Governor having placed at his disposal the rooms of the beautiful Elizabeth of Parma, overlooking the fountains and oranges of the Garden of Lindaraxa. *The Alhambra* may lack the colour of Gautier and the melodrama of Borrow, but its tangible charm succeeded in establishing Spain in the affections of the outside world when Victor Hugo and others had failed to do so. Later Irving was called to the American Legation in London as *chargé d'affaires*. When Irving returned to the New World he was an international figure. Heine had based some of his poems on Irving's books, and Goethe had read him (holding, however, that Irving had made a mistake in neglecting American themes for European). He was yet to write monumental biographies of Oliver Goldsmith, Mahomet and George Washington, but his first half-dozen books have remained standard classics. His success was instantaneous, complete and perhaps to some extent quite unexplainable. Even the jacket pockets of Dickens were at one time filled with well-thumbed copies of his works. The century since Irving's death has seen such marked changes in literary taste and style that his popularity may now seem enigmatic, yet Dietrich Knickerbocker, Ichabod Crane and Rip Van Winkle are among the immortals.

TUDOR EDWARDS



## MIDDLE TEMPLE

The rain that rains is blue beyond the oldest  
Clerk's belief. It slants in dotted lines  
Across the wine-dark window blinds  
Of oriels, in fair relief.

Warm cup of wine within, fine rain without;  
Weather of wire, silver and oblique,  
With all the draw of shrewd antique  
That law and logic can inspire.

He finds his way within the house of Bacon,  
Blackstone, Coke, who wears the law's detail  
Snugly as coat of linking mail  
But with no hint of backward look.

Inside, the rooms are dry; in here no rust  
Dare rain upon the supple armour of the just.

CARL BODE

## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## BERLIN IN HISTORY

Mr. Mander's book on Berlin through the centuries provides the reader with much more than the title suggests. In narrating the fortunes of the Prussian capital he enlarges his canvas to embrace a comprehensive survey of the political and cultural achievements of Germany since the Middle Ages within the narrow limits of two hundred pages. He is a master of brief and clear statement and his verdicts are cool and carefully weighed, equidistant from underrating and overpraise. Prolonged study on the spot has given him not only extensive erudition but a deep understanding of the mentality of the Germans. He wins the confidence of his readers from the first page and retains it to the end.

The history of the city is, above all, the history of the Hohenzollerns, and the author's profiles of the Electors, Kings and Emperors are vividly drawn. The Great Elector, King Frederick I, Frederick William, the soldier King, Carlyle's hero Frederick the Great, the outstanding personality among the rulers of Germany and indeed of modern Europe, Frederick William II the voluptuary, Frederick William III, the dull but duty-doing husband of the adored Queen Louise, Frederick William IV, the friend of scholars and artists, the Emperor William I, his noble son, and William II, the last of his line whose lofty opinion of himself was not generally shared by his subjects or the outside world. It is a fascinating portrait gallery with only one superman in it, matched in Prussian History by the Iron Chancellor alone in the clearness of his aims and the ruthlessness of his methods. How little of their work—the seizure of Silesia and the unification of Germany—remains is told in the chapters on the dawn and fall of the strongest power in the world under the crazy leadership of Bismarck's successors and of those children of the devil who aided Hitler to turn the Weimar Republic into a heap of ruins. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

The author never raises his voice as he recounts these thrilling and tragic scenes, mindful of the first duty of a historian not to allow the blood to rush to his head and obscure his vision. To readers who are sufficiently acquainted with the political

evolution of Prussia and Germany the most arresting pages of this panoramic survey may well be those which describe the cultural achievements of a gifted people. There are far more figures of world stature in the cultural than in the political gallery, for Germany has been more successful in the realms of the sciences and the arts than in the realm of politics. The reader could desire no better guide through the long series of artists and scientists, thinkers and scholars. He will find many familiar and a few unfamiliar names, but Mr. Mander carries his burden lightly. Among recent writers he is particularly interested in Bert Brecht, on whom he is an acknowledged authority, and who represents the rather bitter realistic spirit of our age of confusion and disillusion as faithfully as Faulkner in the United States. Madame de Staël described Germany 150 years ago as the land of poets and thinkers. What would she say if she returned to the world today? Our only certainty is that the German people are one of the greatest communities in the history of mankind and that it is no more possible to keep them down than a rubber ball, for they combine creative power with unusual capacity for hard work of every kind. Will they learn from the criminal follies of their recent rulers? Mr. Mander, like the rest of us, leaves the question unanswered, but his readers will close this book with heightened interest in, and a deeper understanding of, the problem which concerns not only Germany but Europe and the wider world.

G. P. GOOCH

*Berlin: The Eagle and The Bear.* By John Mander. Barrie and Rockliff. 21s.

### THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDIA

Dr. Greaves' book is a study in the foreign policy of the third Marquis of Salisbury and is based on official records which have not all been used before for purposes of publication. Readers will find many similarities between the situation which is described in that work and the great problems concerning Persia which face the statesmen of today. There is, of course, a basic change in the attitude of the British Government regarding those problems. Sixty years ago it was believed in Great Britain that the loss of the Indian Empire would be a fatal blow to this country but, since then, India has become an independent State without the mortal consequences happening. Another new factor in the picture is the deep interest of the Government of the United States of America in the situation and the massive material aid which they are extending to the Persians.

During the period covered by the book, the threat to Persia and to our Indian Empire came from Imperial Russia and today, although Great Britain has ceased to be anxious for friendly relations with a stable Persia in order to be able to defend India, Russia is still the enemy and Persia is still the key country in the present struggle to prevent the Soviet Government from dominating the whole of the Middle East. Once again it is the Russians who are endeavouring to undermine the authority of the present regime in Persia while we, with our American allies, strive to support the Shah and his ministers. Dr. Greaves' book is a historical record which should be read by those who are interested in the current developments in the Middle Eastern countries in general and in Persia in particular, as well as by students of history.

The Field Marshal's book should appeal to a wider circle of readers. It is a series of a soldier's adventures in the Middle East and India, which happened during and between the wars, at the time when the writer was working his way up from a subaltern to a brigade commander. It is a pity that he did not include some of his experiences in more senior posts but he might have found it difficult to write with such frankness about his actions as an army commander. The episodes described in this book are minor affairs, in a military sense, but they are none the less fascinating on that account. An individual soldier who is fighting in the front

line in a large or a small scale battle cannot see an overall picture of the progress of the operation (he is too concerned with his immediate opponents and with such personal questions as weariness, cold, heat, thirst and hunger) but his narrative is more real than the chess-like moves of formations which are described so detachedly by military historians.

Books of this kind always give indirectly a character sketch of the writer. Although I have never met Field Marshal Slim, I am left with a feeling of liking and admiration for his obvious affection for the men under his command and the good-humoured philosophy with which he accepts the ups and downs of a soldier's life on active service. Incidentally, this book gives one an insight into the attitude of the various peoples of the Middle East to battle, murder and sudden death.

ALEC KIRKBRIDE

*Persia and the Defence of India—1884-1892.* By Rose Louise Greaves. Athlone Press. 42s.

*Unofficial History.* By Sir William Slim. Cassell. 21s.

### CHARLES DARWIN

Invalidism did not prevent Darwin's wide research and prolific publication. Methodical habits, he thought, contributed to his success. Life on the *Beagle*, he also thought, by imposing tidiness, made him methodical. This would compensate for the agonies of sea-sickness. Financial security, system, and adequate powers resulted in his outstanding impact on thought. Though Darwin's invalidism often made him an absentee, from the famous duel between Huxley and Bishop Wilberforce, for instance, it did not isolate him from his fellows so severely as is often supposed. These facts, among numerous others, appear in Dr. Himmelfarb's systematic survey of the relevant sources. The reader may well suspect that no relevant book, article, manuscript or casual letter has escaped her scrutiny. Assiduous research often discloses unpleasant features in the famous. The present survey reveals a man fond of sport, mixing somewhat with boors, slipping away from medicine, and abandoning the Church, but always remembered as "placid, unpretending and amiable". Though economical, Darwin was generous. If he was "limited intellectually and insensitive culturally" he became noted in science, and then wrote the *Origin*.

Dr. Himmelfarb complains that the "wealth of information" confuses the course of Darwinism. The truth, she affirms, lies in "the complexities of the contemporary situation" rather than in traditional "specious simplicities". "Lyell's ambivalence" is one significant item. Since some species die out, he insisted, others must appear. He hesitated between successive creations and a mutability by which some species proceeded out of others. Analogies are stepping-stones of the mind, whether they hint or suggest assurance, and whether the mental paths they offer are straight or winding. Dr. Himmelfarb stresses a couple of analogies involved in Lyell's ambivalence, and pervading thought. Uniformitarianism and catastrophism presented the analogies. In geological history, according to the former, regularly acting causes, such as aqueous action, operated. Catastrophism stressed volcanic and other cataclysmic events. The Deluge gave this doctrine of terrestrial change biblical support. The analogical step from uniformitarianism in geology to animate nature suggested evolving species. From catastrophism it suggested special creations. This latter step agreed well with the biblical doctrine of species separately created. Providential supervision was reconcilable with either version. It could either create each species separately or provide, by imposed causal agencies, for the spread of species by evolution. The decision between the alternatives then became the task of science. Religion, however, as Dr. Himmelfarb notes, authorized separately created species. Darwin early speculated about the "distribution of

species on the Galapagos" from a "centre of creation". He did, however, as she also notes, abandon catastrophism.

Lamarck's giraffe inevitably appeared in the origins of Darwin's *Origin*. Malthus stirred the notion of "struggle for existence" in Darwin, though, Dr. Himmelfarb comments, without responsibility for the significance he attached to it. After reading Malthus in 1838, Darwin found time in his busy life to sketch out his theory of the origin of species in 1842, and enlarge it in 1844. Natural selection involved the mechanism of the variations selected. It was also an analogical step from domestic selection. In 1855, Dr. Himmelfarb records, memories of Malthus haunted Alfred Russel Wallace as he rested in Ternate, with a fever. The notion of Natural Selection suddenly flashed upon him. The "joint memoir" presented to the Linnaean Society by Darwin and Wallace, in 1858, made little stir at the moment, but it helped to convert Huxley. The *Origin of Species*, in late 1859, completed the conversion. This, and *The Descent of Man*, ultimately made evolution an accepted postulate. A chapter on The Conservative Revolution ends the book. Darwin, according to this, though no "implacable enemy of religion", touched off religious issues already impending.

JOSHUA C. GREGORY

*Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution.* By Gertrude Himmelfarb. Chatto and Windus. 42s.

### THE SECONDARY MODERN SCHOOL

When the 1944 Education Act created the modern secondary schools, it was intended that they should not be shackled by external examinations. But in the event, public opinion has moulded the modern schools to new shapes and external examinations are now looked on more as a hallmark of achievement than as shackles. An increasing number of modern secondary school children are now staying on beyond the statutory leaving age in order to take the General Certificate of Education; it was estimated that in 1954 at least 5,500 candidates from these schools entered for the examination. Besides this development, there is a parallel movement for scholars to take a different type of external examination on a somewhat lower level than the G.C.E., for instance, the one organized by the Royal Society of Arts or by the College of Preceptors, or else a local examination based on the particular needs of the area. The current view of the Ministry of Education is that it welcomes the tendency for modern secondary school children to take G.C.E. subjects, but is not prepared to pay a grant towards the fees of pupils entering for an examination under the age of 16. The whole question is still under active discussion and this book by the Secretary of the College of Preceptors, serves a useful purpose in bringing attention to bear on it.

The effect of public opinion on modern secondary schools is powerfully felt when the children enter the schools as well as when they leave them. Scepticism concerning the 11-plus examination has led to numerous modifications in methods of selection for secondary education, leading to various experimental schemes throughout the country, which are all touched on in this volume. The greater part of it is given up to a detailed description of the teaching of the various subjects in the curriculum of the modern secondary schools. The material in this part of the book is naturally of more particular interest to educationists specially concerned with these schools. It gives a clear, factual account of the work as it now is and does not set out to be an expression of opinion on what it ought to be. Many changes have taken place since 1944, many more will happen in the years ahead. Meanwhile, work of solid value is being achieved.

NORA ARIS

*Your Secondary Modern Schools.* By J. Vincent Chapman. College of Preceptors. 12s. 6d.

## PEOPLE AND STATISTICS

THE HIGH TOWER OF REFUGE (*Odhams*. 21s. 0d.). Edgar H. S. Chandler, the Director of the Refugee Service of the World Council of Churches, tells the story of some of the lost millions who have been recovered and given relief. The problem is spread over the world, and to each country belongs the responsibility. The price of a nuclear bomb would solve most of the financial difficulties, but this particular piece of mad unreason is not the author's concern. He shows how devoted and resourceful people are coping from Germany to the Far East with the heartbreaking encounters, and his many photographs should shake the complacent, the transient pitiers and the downright uncaring alike into action.

STUDIES IN THE MIDDLE WAY (*Allen and Unwin*. 15s. 0d.). Christmas Humphreys seeks the tree of wisdom that grows along the road the Buddha walked, but does not describe these enlarged and revised essays as "Buddhism, or Theosophy . . . for they spring from the author's experience and not from the textbooks of any one philosophy."

SOVIET AFFAIRS 2 (*St. Antony's Papers Number 6*. Chatto and Windus. 16s. 0d.). Edited by David Footman, the second study "Nestor Makhno" is also by him; the first is "The Kronstadt Rising", by George Katkov, and the last is "Operations in Transcaspia 1918-19 and the 25 Commissars Case", by C. H. Ellis. They indicate something of the "appreciable volume of contribution to scholarship" which is being produced under the auspices of St. Antony's College, Oxford.

ECONOMICS FOR PLEASURE (*Cambridge University Press*. 21s. 0d.). G. L. S. Shackle extracts the essence of the subject and bridges the gulf between the professional economist and the general public. As the jacket proudly proclaims, here is "good, plain English without diagrams or mathematics" to solve the

mysteries of value, production, income, distribution, employment, finance, Government, and trade—a book indeed to read for "sinister pleasure".

AN APPROACH TO MODERN PHYSICS (*G. Bell*. 27s. 6d.). This is the second edition, revised and enlarged, of E. N. da C. Andrade's work of 1956. It treats of heat and energy, sound and vibrations, light and radiation, solids and liquids, electricity, the quantum theory, the atom, the nucleus, the applications of nuclear transformations, and the concluding chapter is aptly named "Uncertainty".

HISTORICAL STUDIES: 11 (*Bowes and Bowes*. 10s. 6d.). Michael Roberts has edited the papers of Denys Hay, John Watt, J. C. Beckett, Asa Briggs, F. S. L. Lyons, and J. L. McCracken, read before the Third Conference of Irish Historians in the Queen's University, Belfast, in 1957. The list of subjects—geographical abstractions and the historian, the temporal authority of the thirteenth century papacy, the Confederation of Kilkenny, Chartism reconsidered, the economic ideas of Parnell, the Cape Parliament of 1854-1910—is proof enough of the diversity of the whole.

MONEY: THE DECISIVE FACTOR (*Christopher Johnson*. 10s. 6d.). Desmond Allhusen and Edward Holloway discuss Britain's handicap in the economic race with Russia. Sir Arthur Bryant, in the Foreword, says that his studies in social history point to purchasing-power as "the elastic instrument by which free men translate their needs into the production of the goods they require".

NEW FABIAN COLONIAL ESSAYS (*The Hogarth Press*. 25s. 0d.). Edited by Arthur Creech Jones, this collection by 11 contributors comprises all aspects of Commonwealth development, social as well as political, educationally no less than economically, from the standpoint of the newly independent countries and

from that of the "retiring overlords" too.

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS 1958 (*Oxford University Press*. 48s. 0d.). This is the ninth volume Richard Stebbins has so ably contributed to the annual series initiated by the Council on Foreign Relations. Outer space must now have its share in any such survey, and October 4, 1957, the day when the Soviets placed in orbit the first artificial satellite, appropriately introduces the happenings of the year. It is one of gloom and deterioration, of crises and struggles, of missile development and revolutions. The sordid international behaviour dominating this planet augurs ill for the government and organization of any other for which the Americans and the Russians are now competing.

JUDGEMENTS ON HISTORY AND HISTORIANS (*George Allen and Unwin*. 18s. 0d.). Jacob Burckhardt, gaining in stature as an intellectual of the nineteenth century, covered the world outside his native Switzerland from antiquity to Napoleon. His university lecture notes have been gathered here in the translation of Harry Zohn, who found the task an exhilarating challenge. H. R. Trevor-Roper's Introduction stresses the width of the historian's views, due to his interest in art and care for all the creations of the human spirit. His own would tolerate no mere concentration on the establishing of political facts, nor could it be closed to new possibilities for it was founded on his liberal belief in the freedom of the will.

BRITAIN'S ART COLONY BY THE SEA (*George Ronald*. 21s. 0d.). Denys Val Baker tells of St. Ives and its surroundings, which include Penzance, Newlyn, Mousehole, Zennor, and Lamorna and Sennen Coves, in Cornwall. For 80 years the district has attracted painters, for climate, light, cliffs and shore, and freedom in living, make it a rival to Mediterranean blueness. In a well-produced book, profusely illustrated, the artists are seen at

work, and a chapter is devoted to the crafts that flourish alongside, to pottery, metal work, furniture and weaving.

PLATO TODAY (*George Allen and Unwin*. 20s. 0d.). R. H. S. Crossman, M.P., has revised, not his young man's translation of the political philosophy into modern terms, but the topical references which have become unintelligible after 20 years. The author's new Introduction recalls the novelty of pulling "Plato off his pedestal" in the world of Hitler, Stalin, and the Spanish civil war. If the assessment is negative, the validity of the argument is unimpaired in the post-war era.

DIVINE POETRY AND DRAMA IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND. (*Cambridge University Press*. 35s. 0d.). Lily B. Campbell, from the University of California, examines the effect the Renaissance had in England on men to whom the Bible was now free as a source of religious verse. She shows how they thus found "a means of combating the influence of the revival of classical learning and the developing taste for pagan and secular story and song". This scholarly work traces the pattern, intricate and strange, in which the Psalms were regarded as English poetry and biblical plays could be presented in the public theatres.

CASELL'S SPANISH DICTIONARY (*Cassell*. 36s. 0d.) has all the signs of harmonious and expert teamwork. Its 1,500 pages have been edited by a Peers-Barragán-Vinyals-Mora partnership full of literary and academic distinction. It is a convenient innovation to be able to find the Latin-American variants taking their alphabetical place in the Spanish-English section. The success of the aim to provide "a dictionary which, though compendious, could be of service to student, businessman and general reader alike" is easily demonstrable, nor must the end of the book fail its meed of praise where, besides verbs and weights and measures, English geographical names are given the Spanish equivalent.

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